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THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE PROGRAM

OUR READERS in America are doubtless acquainted with the Foreign Language Program, which is now entering its second year. This three-year investigation into the state of foreign language teaching in America at all levels, operating under a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, comes at a time when foreign language enrollments in our schools and colleges are at a low ebb. Yet there has never been a period in our nation's history when the need for an expanded foreign language program was more urgent. William R. Parker, the director of the Program, believes that there are many signs which point to a reawakening of interest in foreign language study and an increased awareness of the need for American youth, the future citizens of our state and nation, to gain the added perspective which contact with a foreign language can give in a unique way.

The Program can succeed in rehabilitating foreign language study only if it obtains the active cooperation and participation of all members of our profession, whatever their chief interests. It is to express publicly our active and continued support that the editors of the *Romanic Review* are making this editorial statement. We urge our readers to keep informed by consulting the front pages of *PMLA* and to cooperate by subscribing to periodicals dealing with problems of pedagogy and methodology published by the various associations of foreign language teachers.

The *Romanic Review* will, however, by general editorial agreement, continue to devote itself exclusively to scholarly articles and reviews. Scholarly research has always been and should always be a concomitant of foreign language teaching, especially at the university level. Its future, however, cannot be separated from the future of foreign language teaching at all levels; the quality and quantity of the former will inevitably rise or fall with the increased or decreased activity of the latter. Thus our plea for cooperation with the Foreign Language Program is not purely altruistic. The future of the *Romanic Review* is closely bound to the success of the Program in its attempt to stimulate increased foreign language instruction in America.

THE EDITORS

NEW BIOGRAPHICAL DATA ON FRANCISCO DE ALDANA

By Elias L. Rivers

OVER thirteen years ago J. P. Wickersham Crawford published an article entitled "Francisco de Aldana: A Neglected Poet of the Golden Age in Spain."[1] This has been almost the only sign of interest shown in Aldana by any American scholar since Longfellow; yet this poet was highly esteemed by Gil Polo, Cervantes, Quevedo, and Lope de Vega.[2] That he has been long neglected by both American and European scholarship is due, in part at least, to the rarity of the editions of his works.[3] Menéndez y Pelayo, who happened to own an edition, awakened some interest in Aldana, especially the mystic Aldana of the *Carta para Arias Montano*, to which he referred in 1881 as "unos tercetos, tan ricos de estilo como profundos en la idea, de un olvidado poeta del siglo XVI, a quien no con entera injusticia llamaron sus contemporáneos *el Divino*."[4] But only the past few years have seen any significant studies on Aldana. Karl Vossler published one in 1936, and Crawford's article appeared in 1939. Between the years 1935 and 1946 Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino laid the foundations for a thorough investigation of Aldana's life and works. Valuable critical comments on Aldana's poetic style in the *Carta para Arias Montano* are found in a more recent article by Luis Cernuda.[5]

1. *HR*, VII (1939), 48–61; he took as his point of departure an essay by Longfellow in the *North American Review*, XXXIV (1832), 277–315.

I should here like to acknowledge gratefully my indebtedness to Yale University, for a Sterling Fellowship that made possible my research in Europe; to D. Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino, for his generosity in lending me his copies of rare books; and to D. Rafael Lapesa, for his kindness in reading and criticizing this article.

2. Gaspar Gil Polo, *La Diana enamorada*, lib. III, "Canto de Turia." Miguel de Cervantes, *La Galatea*, lib. VI; *Viaje del Parnaso*, "Adjunta." Francisco de Quevedo, *Anacreón castellano*, XIX. Lope de Vega, *Laurel de Apolo*, silva VI.

3. *Segunda parte de las obras . . . del Capitán Francisco de Aldana* (Madrid, 1591), abbrev. Pt. II. *Todas las obras . . .* (Madrid, 1593), abbrev. Pt. I. For description of this and other sixteenth-century editions of Aldana's works, see Bartolomé José Gallardo, *Ensayo de una biblioteca española de libros raros y curiosos*, I (Madrid, 1863), 123–131. Scattered copies are found in the library of the Hispanic Society, the British Museum (abbrev. BML), the Biblioteca de Menéndez y Pelayo, and the private library of Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino; the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid (abbrev. BNM) has copies of all editions.

Other abbreviations used in this article: AGS—Archivo General de Simancas. *EP*—Francisco de Aldana, *Epistolario poético completo*, ed. A. Rodríguez-Moñino (Badajoz, 1946).

4. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, "La poesía mística en España," in *Estudios y discursos de crítica histórica y literaria* (Stanander, 1941–1942), II, 91.

5 . Karl Vossler, *Poesie der Einsamkeit in Spanien*, zweiter Teil, in the *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie* (München, 1936), pp. 50–73. Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino, *Los poetas extremeños del siglo XVI: estudios bibliográficos*, I (Badajoz, 1935), 239–344; "Francisco de Aldana (1537–1578)," *Castilla*, II (fascículos III and IV

I

Despite Gil Polo's belief that Francisco de Aldana was a native of Valencia (see note 2), we know that he was a nephew of Maestre de Campo Bernardo de Aldana, leader of the 1548 expedition into Hungary, and was hence a member of the Alcántara branch of the Aldana family.[6] This family, by legend and by name Germanic in origin, had come from Galicia to Alcántara with the Reconquest; there the Aldanas figured among the leaders of the military Order of Alcántara and had long supplied kings with loyal officers and churchmen.[7] Francisco de Aldana's father and paternal uncles sometimes took the surname Villela de Aldana, for their father was a Villela and their mother an Aldana; they were related to María Villela and hence to her two famous sons, Fray Pedro de Alcántara, the saintly counselor of Santa Teresa, and Pedro Barrantes Maldonado, the voluminous chronicler. This Alcántara family was, then, typical of the vigorous Spanish tradition of war and holiness, closer in spirit to the era of the Cid than to that of Michelangelo.

Francisco de Aldana was born, however, not in the ancestral home of Alcántara, but in Italy, probably in the Kingdom of Naples. His father, Antonio, was a professional *capitán* there and at one time or another commanded the Neopolitan fortresses of Aquila, Gaeta, and Manfredonia.[8] In Parma he had married the daughter of his mother's first cousin, Coronel Gonzalo de Aldana. Antonio's sons were named, in order of age, Hernando, Francisco, and Cosme; there was also a daughter, named Porcia.[9] Francisco

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[Valladolid, 1943]), 57–137. This article, in a somewhat condensed form, serves as the introduction of *EP* (see n. 3 above). Luis Cernuda, "Tres poetas metafísicos," *Insula*, No. 36 (December, 1948), pp. 1–2. Alfredo Lefebvre, Chilean, is the author of an unpublished study of the "Carta para Arias Montano." José María de Cossío, in *Fábulas mitológicas en España* (Madrid, 1952), p. 196, has recently stressed the need for a biography of Aldana: "Pide el capitán Aldana una biografía completa y justificada. Pienso que pocas vidas más representativas de su tiempo pueden historiarse."

6. See title of sonnet written by Francisco's brother Cosme: "Igualdad de valor y costumbres del Capitán Francisco de Aldana, hermano del autor, a su tío Señor Bernardo de Aldana, maestre de campo de infantería española y general de artillería en el Reino de Nápoles, que murió sobre los Gelbes" (*Sonetos y octauas de Cosme de Aldana . . . en lamentación de la muerte de su hermano* [Milán, 1578], fol. 101r [BNM, R-5528]).

7. The main source for these and the following details on the Aldanas of Alcántara is a chronicle of the town written by Pedro Barrantes Maldonado, BNM, MS. 17.996, esp. foll. 10, 26, 54, 98. On fol. 30r there is an account of the semi-legendary arrival of the first Viking Aldana in Galicia. Etymologists confirm the Germanic origin of this surname: in its Galician and Portuguese forms, Aldán and Aldão (cf. phonetic development of rana > ran and rã, cã > cão, Edwin B. Williams, *From Latin to Portuguese* [Philadelphia, 1938], pp. 30, 174–178), the name appears in Georg Sachs, *Die germanischen Ortsnamen in Spanien und Portugal* (Jena-Leipzig, 1932), and in Joseph M. Piel, *Os nomes germânicos na tiponímia portuguesa* (Lisboa, 1936–1937).

8. See MS cited in n. 7; cf. AGS, Estado-Nápoles 1046, 239.

9. "Antonio [de Aldana Maldonado, figlio] di don Francesco, venuto in Firenze come aio di Eleanora di Toledo, fu fatto castellano della fortezza di San Miniato e poi

was born in 1537, probably in August or September.[10] Two years later his father went as a member of the escort of Spanish and Italian gentlemen that accompanied Leonor de Toledo, the Viceroy's daughter, from Naples to Florence, where she joined her bridegroom Cosimo de' Medici, Duke of Florence.[11] In 1540 Antonio de Aldana took his family to Florence, and there they settled permanently. The Duke depended heavily on Spanish troops. He first gave Antonio the command of the Spanish cavalry, then in 1546 that of the Fortezza di Livorno, and finally, in 1554, that of the Fortezza di San Miniato, just across the Arno from Florence.[12] The letters of the Duke to Antonio reveal a formal but close personal relationship of mutual respect and support.[13]

Thus it was that Francisco de Aldana, descendant of medieval Spanish *hidalgos*, grew up as a protégé of the Medici family in the late Renaissance atmosphere of sixteenth-century Florence. Scholarly Benedetto Varchi was then the leader of the local literary circle, and under him young Francisco wrote the usual courtly verses, in Spanish and in Italian: *Otavas en toscano* to Queen Elizabeth of England, a Spanish *canción* and an Italian sonnet on the death of Lucrezia de' Medici, and an Italian sonnet, in response to Varchi, on the death of the Duchess, Doña Leonor de Toledo de' Medici, Lucrezia's mother.[14] More important was the deep influence which the predominant Neoplatonism of sixteenth-century Florentine letters had upon Aldana's intellectual formation. We find that the abovementioned *Otavas*, for example, are based figuratively upon the concept of silent, motionless communion between God and the angels, a concept of fundamental importance in the Neoplatonic scale of hypostases. Francisco's youthful enthusiasm for philosophy was later recalled by his brother Cosme:

> La materia más alta y no entendida
> él con docto hablar sencillo y claro

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governatore di Livorno. Suo figlio Ferdinando fu ricevuto per giustizia nell' Ordine di S. Stefano il 13 febbraio 1571 e in tale occasione il Granduca ne riconobbe l'antica nobiltà" (Ferdinando Sartini in Vittorio Spreti, *Enciclopedia storico-nobiliare italiana*, I [Milano, 1928], 349.) Hernando is referred to in Francisco's poetry as "Hernadio." Cosme mentions Porcia in the three volumes which he published on Francisco's death.

10. See "*Carta para Arias Montano*," dated Sept. 7, 1577, vv. 34–37 (Pt. I, 27ᵛ; *EP*, 63). The "planeta septeno" is the Moon, in the Ptolemaic system; 480 "vueltas" would be forty years.

11. Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo 5922a, 2. See n. 9 above.

12. *EP*, 6 ff.; catalog files of Archivio di Stato di Firenze, s.v. Antonio de Aldana; see n. 9 above.

13. Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo XXXIII, 330; XXXIV, 730; XL, 389.

14. Pt. II, 65ᵛ, 78ᵛ, and 80ᵛ, and *EP*, 31, respectively. Leonor died in 1562; Aldana's sonnet on her death was published in *Poesie toscane et latine di diversi eccel. ingegni nella morte del S. D. Giovanni, cardinale, del Sig. Don Grazia de Medici, & della S. Donna Leonora di Toledo de Medici, Duchessa di Fiorenza et di Siena* (Fiorenza, 1563), p. 97 (Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze). Varchi's sonnet to Aldana is found on p. 85.

daba a entender a todos cual si oída
mil años la tuviera (¡oh hado avaro!),
con haber pocos años de su vida
dado al estudio de las letras raro,
y en ellas de tal arte florecía
que a los más sabios confundir solía.[15]

This academic background in Florence, the city which under Marsilio Ficino had been the seat of the Accademia Platonica and was still in the sixteenth century the center of Renaissance Neoplatonism, is a circumstantial clue to Aldana's development as perhaps the most Neoplatonic poet in Spanish literature.

As a young man in Florence, Aldana acquired not only a knowledge of Renaissance Neoplatonism, but, to some extent, that semi-pagan attitude of philosophic hedonism which was also typical of Italy. Ficino had, to his own satisfaction at least, reconciled Platonism and Christian doctrine, but hedonism must always have been a more or less conscious deviation from the predominantly ascetic ideals of medieval Christianity. The reborn spirit of Virgil and Horace set the tone of a pastoral world that was an important element in the background of Aldana's youth, spent on the banks of the Arno. As recalled by his brother Cosme, after his death,

Gozábamos quietud alta y sincera
en nuestro monte y solitario nido,
adó, cual digo, eterna primavera
gustó cualquier lo más del tiempo y vido,
lejos de ansia, temor, y culpa fiera
(¡oh mal de triste caso acontecido!),
estando en amigable y dulce trato
y pasando un gozoso alegre rato.

. . . . . .

Me acuerdo que, una vez juntos estando
sobre un florido prado y verde asiento,
de mi cítara al son fuiste acordando
tu voz con muy sonoro, alto concento,
y los siguientes versos resonando
hacías el monte, el bosque, el valle atento
con tan clara, tan dulce, alta armonía
que Febo igual formar no la podía.[15]

The poem by Francisco which Cosme here remembers is *Sobre el bien de la vida retirada* (Pt. II, 31^{v} ff.), an Horatian combination of satire on the money-making, power-mad world and of idealization of the philosophic, pastoral life that he and his brother and their friends were then leading.

15. *Segunda parte de octavas y sonetos . . . sobre la muerte de su hermano* (Florencia, 1587), pp. 15, 63, 65. BML, C.96.a.7.(2.).

I have modernized the punctuation, capitalization, and, except in my transcriptions of Aldana's autographs, the orthography of all the sixteenth-century Spanish quoted in this article.

This life, inseparable from humanistic literature both in origin and in expression, was no doubt in part a fiction; but it was a vitally meaningful fiction, one for which Francisco was to yearn later, when his way of life had changed. A year after leaving Italy he wrote from dreary Flanders, in an epistle to Cosme:

> Y bien me acuerdo yo que allá en el monte
> y allá en el valle, a la ribera de Arno,
> (¡Ay monte, ay valle, ay Arno, ay mi ribera:
> cómo vivo aquí lloroso y triste!)...
> (Pt. I, 56r; *EP*, 41.)

Clearly pagan in tone is the amoral sensuality of much of Aldana's youthful poetry on love:

> Con el siniestro brazo un nudo hecho
> por el cuello a su sol tiene Medoro;
> ciñe la otra el blanco y tierno pecho
> que es del cielo y amor alto tesoro;
> acá y allá sobre el dichoso lecho
> vuela el rico, sutil cabello de oro
> y al caluroso aliento que salía
> un poco ventilando se movía.[16]

The idealized yet detailed description of Medoro and Angélica, of which this stanza is a typical excerpt, has much of the detached, almost innocent sensuality of a passage from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. It is, of course, primarily literature, not autobiography; yet it must reflect, in some way, an aspect of Aldana's youth, if only a literary dream-world of his libido.[17]

The following sonnet, in which the lovers are named Damón and Filis, is probably closer to autobiography; it may well have had its roots in a genuine love affair, for we find this pair of names in several of Aldana's love sonnets. This sonnet, as pagan in its frank sensuality as *Medoro y Angélica*, does not idealize the details; it expresses a more intense personal attitude toward the erotic situation realistically described:

> "¿Cuál es la causa, mi Damón, que estando
> en la lucha de amor juntos trabados
> con lenguas, brazos, pies, y encadenados
> cual vid que entre el jazmín se va enredando
> y que el vital aliento ambos tomando
> en nuestros labios, de chupar cansados,

16. "Medoro y Angélica, por Aldana de Italia," in José Manuel Blecua's edition of the *Cancionero de 1628* (Madrid, 1945), pp. 326–329. The fact that, in the MS *cancionero*, Aldana is identified as "de Italia" indicates that this poem was written during his youth in Florence. Cf. Pt. II, 44v ff., for poetry of similar style.

17. For perhaps the best discussion of this problem, see René Wellek, "Literature and Biography," Chap. VII of Wellek and Austin Warren, *Theory of Literature* (New York, 1949).

en medio a tanto bien somos forzados
llorar y suspirar de cuando en cuando?"
"Amor, mi Filis bella, que allá dentro
nuestras almas juntó, quiere en su fragua
los cuerpos ajuntar también tan fuerte
que, no pudiendo, como esponja el agua,
pasar del alma al dulce amado centro,
llora el velo mortal su avara suerte."
(Pt. I, 41r.)

This sonnet is obviously not in the tradition of courtly love, for there is no hint of that restraint which was imposed by the pseudo-feudal relationship between troubadour lover and "midons." Nor is there any trace of Dantesque or even Petrarchan sublimation. In the octet the lovers are situated realistically in the violent animal relationship described in similar terms by Lucretius; the philosophy expressed in the sestet is akin to theories found in the more sensual of the Neoplatonic philosophers of the Renaissance. "The body is, in fact, almost subsumed into the soul as an integral part of the complete man."[18] Almost, but not quite: hence the body's poignant, almost tragic frustration, as expressed in Aldana's unique sonnet.

It is significant that the sensuous love poetry of Aldana is free of that typically Spanish feeling of sinfulness which characterizes, for example, Quevedo's filthy *amor ferino*.[19] Like some passages of Cetina and Figueroa, who also lived in Italy, Aldana's poem, *Medoro y Angélica*, shows a pagan absence of moral tension that was rare in Tridentine Spain. And his sonnet expresses a pagan attitude toward physical love that would be difficult, if not impossible, to find even in Italian poetry.

In his sole criticism of erotic passion, the young Aldana was again pagan rather than Christian in viewpoint: like Lucretius, he speaks of it, not as sinfulness, but as a madness which involves more pain than pleasure:

Breve y triste placer, largo tormento,
vidrïosa esperanza, incierta vida,
encogido temor, tibio contento,
dura prisión, y libertad perdida
tienes, amante, allá por fundamento,
con ser tú de ti mismo a ti homicida,
haciendo siempre en esta mar sin calma
de tu propio dolor manjar al alma.
(Pt. II, 34r.)

18. Written of Ficino's philosophy by Nesca A. Robb, *Neoplatonism of the Italian Renaissance* (London, 1935), p. 83. Aldana is perhaps even closer to Leo Hebraeus; cf. Leone Ebreo, *Dialoghi d'amore*, ed. S. Caramella (Bari, 1929), esp. pp. 50–52, 56.

19. Cf. Otis H. Green, *Courtly Love in Quevedo* (Boulder: Univ. of Colorado Press, 1952), esp. pp. 12–16.

This passage is found in the above-mentioned *Sobre el bien de la vida retirada*, a poem which as a whole seems to have considerable biographical significance in Aldana's Florentine period. The Stoico-Epicurean ideal which it expresses marks a pagan step in the direction of the contemplative, yet still humanistic, withdrawal of his more Christian maturity; his early interest in a moderate philosophical life grew, if we may judge by this poem, out of the ideas of pagans such as Horace, Plato, and Lucretius.

Despite the predominance of a literary paganism, Aldana was not in this period cut off completely from his Christian heritage. Even in the almost purely humanistic poem on the "vida retirada," there is at least one indication that Aldana was aware of the religious implications of Neoplatonism:

> . . . todo me es escalón, todo escalera,
> para el Señor de la dorada esfera.
> (Pt. II, 34r.)

In 1562 Varchi addressed Aldana as "pio poeta" (*EP*, 31; see note 14): we may infer from this that he had already written some of his religious poetry, probably the *Parto de la Virgen* (Pt. II, 1r ff.) and other narrative or theological poems of its type. The *Parto de la Virgen*, of which the first canto and part of the second have survived, is an imitation of Sannazaro's *De partu Virginis*. The epic framework is completely pagan: the Archangel Gabriel stops for a conversation with the Roman god of each planetary sphere as he travels down to Earth to deliver the Annunciation. At the same time, in this poem Aldana reveals a complete familiarity with orthodox theology concerning the Incarnation.

Perhaps the best example of the young Aldana's facile synthesis of pagan sensualism and Christian philosophy is this description of the love which, pervading the Neoplatonic universe, binds the angels to God:

> Hasta en el ángel hay santa lujuria
> de pegarse al Autor por quien se informa.
> (Pt. II, 54r.)

But already in the *Parto de la Virgen* there is some sign that Aldana was beginning to repudiate the paganism of his earlier love poetry, to return from his "temporary truancy";[20] he describes himself as

> Triste de tantas [obras] que tan vanamente
> en la sin freno edad pude negalle [a Dios],
> sembrando esterilísima simiente
> en este de dolor lloroso valle. . . .
> (Pt. II, 2r.)

20. This concept of "temporary truancy" has been elaborated by C. S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love*, rev. ed., (Oxford, 1946), esp. pp. 21–22, 42.

He was never to have the extreme ascetic impulses of a Quevedo, but he grew to be well aware of the difference between human love and divine love, *eros* and *agape*. When, probably about four years after leaving Italy, a friend wrote him that he and his mistress were thinking of going into a convent together because their love was on such a high religious plane, Aldana answered:

¡Donosa conversión de dos que buscan
los cuerpos convertir, como las almas,
uno en el otro y ser nuevo androgino!
No es ésa conversión por Dios trazada,
mas un extremo opuesto al convertirse;
no porque el hielo queme a la verdura
y la pueda quemar también el fuego,
por eso el hielo es fuego, el fuego es hielo;
no porque vos llegárades al punto
de efectüar lo mismo que pensastes
fuera divino amor la causa dello,
mas su contrario dél, que es el mundano;
y dado que a ese amor y a ese otro llamen
también amor, sabrás que para siempre
son y serán amores paralelos
que no pueden juntarse a ningún término.
(Pt. I, 96^{r}; *EP*, 98.)

The distinction could hardly be more clearly made.

Returning to Aldana's youth in Florence, we find that his Spanish heritage, both religious and military, had an early influence on him through his parents. He expresses in the strongest terms his love and respect for his devout mother (Pt. I, 57^{v} f.; *EP*, 43 f.). And through his father, the *hidalgo* and professional soldier, he must soon have come into close contact with military life and the militant ideals of his crusading ancestors. He himself indicates, in a *memorial* written near the end of his military career (see p. 181), that his active service began in 1553, that is, when he was sixteen years old. His training must have begun earlier. In 1557 he fought in the Battle of St. Quentin.[21] In 1563 he was named his father's lieutenant as Castellano di San Miniato (*EP*, 7). By then he had the rank of *capitán* and the reputation in Florence of being "fier guerriero" (*EP*, 31; see note 14). But, judging from the poetry of his Florentine period, we find him still too Italianate, too civilized, to be very enthusiastic about his military career:

No de Marte feroz, bravo, impaciente
veré la confusión, la muerte y pena,

21. Nicolás Díaz y Pérez, *España . . .: Extremadura* (Barcelona, 1887), p. 833; Cosme de Aldana, *Sonetos y octavas*, fol. 39^{v}.

do es fuerza que mi espada se ensangriente
de propia sangre o de la sangre ajena;
ni en medio del verano más ardiente,
cuando Aquilón su helado soplo enfrena,
sin aliento, sin vida, y sin sentido,
verme he de sangre y de sudor teñido.

¡Oh contrario Destino ejecutivo,
cuánto nos carga de tu mano el peso,
adó se culpa el ir y el volver vivo
y al que fué sin volver loco y sin seso!
(Pt. II, 36^{v}–37^{r}.)

II

The Aldana family was traditionally connected, as retainers and protégés, to the Toledo family. Antonio, like his more famous brother Bernardo, served under Don Pedro de Toledo, the Viceroy of Naples; as we have seen, when the latter's daughter Leonor became Duchess of Florence, Antonio went with her. So it is not surprising that it was in the retinue of Don Pedro's nephew, Don Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, the third and great Duke of Alva, that Francisco de Aldana left Italy in 1567, never to return. This departure from Italy, the land of his golden youth, marks a decisive change in Aldana's life. Naturally enough, he hated the northern climate and the intrigues and corruption of the governor's court in Flanders and was filled with nostalgia for the idyllic life he had led with his brother in Florence. As he wrote in an epistle to Cosme, dated Brussels, March 10, 1568,

En fin, en fin la tenebrosa noche
salió de aquel dorado y claro día,
y como allá dejé la mejor parte
de mí, de amor, del tiempo, y de fortuna,
allá también quedó con bienes tantos
la Musa . . . . . .
La vida que ora paso aquí no es otra
que trafagar en esta corte ibera . . .;
no quiero entrar en este abismo y centro
oscuro de mentira, en esta inmensa,
de torpe vanidad, circunferencia . . .
Ni me quiero alargar, Cosme sũave,
a descrebir esta región do vivo,
do en un cerco solar de un año entero,
menos tan sólo un mes, yo nunca he visto
la serena del sol cara sin nube.
(Pt. I, 56^{r} ff.; *EP*, 41 f.)

But his reaction to the change was not wholly negative. As the Duke of Alva's *camarero*, or chamberlain, he was in close contact with one of the great figures of the Spanish Empire, a man who was a cultured *cortegiano* of the Renaissance[22] and at the same time the typical *hidalgo* and uncompromising crusader for the glory of the Church and the Spanish Crown. Aldana admired him greatly:

> Aquí me estoy con mi señor y amigo
> (puédolo así llamar, pues tal se muestra)
> gozando de mirar cómo me mira
> con ojos de verdad, de amor y gracia:
> ¡oh si mi estrella en algún tiempo hace
> que viva con más paz y más reposo,
> oh cómo pienso, oh cómo, inmortalarme
> con el nombre inmortal de este gran hombre!
> (Pt. I, 56v; *EP*, 41 f.)

Partly perhaps as a result of this admiration, Aldana began to throw himself heart and soul into his military career. A few weeks after writing the epistle to Cosme from which I have been quoting, he took part in the military campaign against Count Louis of Nassau-Dillenberg. He wrote a poem on this campaign in which he contrasts the manly glory and virtue of the battlefield with the decadence of life at court. Nothing could be more different from his former Horatian tone of disgust at grime and gore than such lines as these:

> . . . yo de honroso sudor cubro mi cara
> y de sangre enemiga el brazo tiño
> cuando con más furor muerte dispara. . . .
> Mientras, cual nuevo sol por la mañana,
> todo compuesto andáis ventaneando
> en haca sin parar lucia y galana,
> yo voy sobre un jinete acá saltando
> el andén, el barranco, el foso, el lodo,
> al cercano enemigo amenazando.
> (Pt. I, 58v f.; *EP*, 83 f.)

His hypersensual perception of physical reality is expressed, then, not in his love poetry alone: he glories similarly in the *lucha* of war. Some of his vivid descriptions of battle alarm, and in particular of war horses, have justly been included in anthologies.[23] In such passages as these, that glorify the physically strenuous life and show a great deal of soldierly ambition, there is no echo at all of the classical "vida retirada."

22. Alfonso Danvila y Burguero, *Cristóbal de Moura* (Madrid, 1900), p. 97.
23. For example, in *Poetas líricos de los siglos XVI y XVII*, ed. A. de Castro, II (BAE XLII), 506.

After three more years of life in the Netherlands, Aldana was sent to Spain. On May 23, 1571, the Duke of Alva wrote a letter of recommendation for Aldana to take to Cardinal Don Diego de Espinosa, president of the Council of Castile and Grand Inquisitor.[24] Not long after Aldana's arrival in Madrid came news of the great victory won over the Turks at Lepanto. We can imagine how Aldana, along with the whole nation, thrilled to this blow against the enemies of God and Spain. He undoubtedly longed to join the heroic Don John of Austria on the Mediterranean; the following year he did join Don John, with the rank of *sargento mayor* (see *memorial*, p. 181), for the second and less decisive expedition against the Turks.

With the renewal of hostilities in the Netherlands that same year, Aldana was recalled to duty there and, under the Duke of Alva's son Don Fadrique, served as *general de la artillería* in the sieges of Haarlem (December, 1572–July, 1573) and of Alkmaar (September–October, 1573). During the latter siege he was severely wounded.[25]

The Spanish failure to take Alkmaar marked a turning-point in the war. This siege, along with Aldana's wound and his loss of favor at court (Alva was replaced by Requeséns as governor of the Netherlands), seems also to have marked the beginning of another change in Aldana's attitude toward his career. Despite an effort at cheerfulness during his seven-month convalescence, in July of 1574 he wrote a letter to the Duke of Alva, who was by then back in Spain, stating his intention to leave the Netherlands (see note 25). But he could not obtain an immediate release from active duty; in the following month we find him at the siege of Leyden,[26] which resulted in a decisive defeat for the Spaniards. And it was not until almost two years later, in February of 1576, that he could finally write to Requeséns, with considerable satisfaction, "Muêueme el ser cristiano y soldado, después de auer recebido el jubileo, a escriuir a V. E^a^. estos pocos ringlones, lo qual tanto con mejor ynclinatión hago quanto veo que el hábito de mi soldadesca ya se rompió y me será fuerça procurar otro de más siguridad. . . . No digo más, sino que me voy a España a ver si puedo cojer algún frutto de veynte y quatro años que aro la tierra. . . ."[27]

24. BML, Addison 28,385, fol. 202.

25. It is possible that he may also have been wounded at Haarlem. But Cosme, in the third edition of the *Primera parte* of Francisco's works (Gallardo, *Ensayo*, no. 111), substitutes "Alquemar" for "Arlen" in the title "Diálogo entre cabeza y pie, escrito por el Capitán Francisco de Aldana, siendo herido de un mosquetazo en un pie sobre Arlen, sirviendo el oficio del General de la Artillería" (Pt. I, 43^v^). That he was wounded at Alkmaar is confirmed in Cosme's *Segunda parte de octavas y sonetos*, p. 18, and in a letter from Francisco to the Duke of Alva, *Documentos escogidos del Archivo de la Casa de Alba*, ed. Duquesa de Berwick y de Alba (Madrid, 1891), pp. 128–129.

26. Bernardino de Mendoza, *Comentarios de las guerras de los Países Bajos*, lib. XII, cap. IX.

27. Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire de Genève, Collection Edouard Favre, Vol. XXX, foll. 195–196. Autograph letter (see n. 15).

It was probably toward the end of his military career in the Netherlands, in the years 1573–1576, that he wrote some of his most extraordinary sonnets:

Otro aquí no se ve que, frente a frente,
animoso escuadrón moverse guerra,
sangriento humor teñir la verde tierra,
y tras honroso fin correr la gente;
éste es el dulce son que acá se siente:
"¡España, Santiago, cierra, cierra!,"
y por süave olor, que el aire atierra,
humo de azufre dar con llama ardiente;
el gusto envuelto va tras corrompida
agua, y el tacto sólo apalpa y halla
duro trofeo de acero ensangrentado,
hueso en astilla, en él carne molida,
despedazado arnés, rasgada malla:
¡oh solo de hombres digno y noble estado!
(Pt. I, 42r.)

Mil veces callo que romper deseo
el cielo a gritos, y otras tantas tiento
dar a mi lengua voz y movimiento,
que en silencio mortal yacer la veo;
anda cual velocísimo correo
por dentro al alma el suelto pensamiento
con alto y de dolor lloroso acento,
casi en sombra de muerte un nuevo Orfeo.
No halla la memoria o la esperanza
rastro de imagen dulce y deleitable
con que la voluntad viva segura:
cuanto en mí hallo es maldición que alcanza,
muerte que tarda, llanto inconsolable,
desdén del cielo, error de la ventura.
(Pt. I, 43r.)

Of the first of these Karl Vossler writes: "Se tiene la sensación de que quería aplacar su alma con una especie de acritud humorística y sarcástica."[28] This is an understatement. The pent-up power of this paradoxical sonnet seems to express an unresolved crisis in Aldana's spiritual life, as does the second in more explicitly psychological and religious terms. It is from the penitential depths of this complete *desengaño* that Aldana was to rise to the mystic heights of his *Carta para Arias Montano*, dated 1577. In the autobiographical introduction of this epistle he was even more explicit as to the suffering and former ambitions involved in his military

28. *Escritores y poetas de España* (Buenos Aires, 1947), p. 99.

career; his religious conversion was by then complete, resolving the impasse expressed in the above sonnets:

> Oficio militar profeso y hago,
> ¡baja condenación de mi ventura
> que al alma dos infiernos da por pago!
> Los huesos y la sangre que natura
> me dió para vivir, no poca parte
> dellos y della he dado a la locura,
> mientras el pecho al desenvuelto Marte
> tan libre di que sin mi daño puede,
> hablando la verdad, ser muda el arte.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Mas ya, ¡merced del cielo!, me desato,
> ya rompo a la esperanza lisonjera
> el lazo en que me asió con doble trato;
> pienso torcer de la común carrera
> que sigue el vulgo y caminar derecho
> jornada de mi patria verdadera.
> (Pt. I, 27r ff.; *EP*, 62 ff.)

Yet, despite this turning toward Heaven as his "patria verdadera," he continued to be patriotic in the usual sense: his letter to Requeséns, cited above, is full of advice on military discipline and imperial strategy, and his *Otavas dirigidas al Rey Don Felipe* (Pt. I, 1r ff.), written at about the same time as the *Carta para Arias Montano*, is a lengthy treatise on the latter subject. What he had lost was his personal ambition for a glorious military career and his rather brief moral and physical enthusiasm for the active life of a soldier.

III

Francisco de Aldana must have reached Madrid no later than March, 1576, for ten months later (see *memorial*, p. 181) he had already left on a reconnaissance mission into North Africa.[29] (In the meanwhile, as acting *alcaide*, he had commanded the fortress of San Sebastián for a short time.) Disguised as a Jewish merchant, he was sent to Africa, with Diego de Torres the *rescatador*, to gather information on the military fortifications there, especially those of Fez.[30] He could not escape the "baja condenación de su ventura."

This reconnaissance was preparatory to the crusading expedition of King Sebastian of Portugal the following year. Sebastian's uncle, Philip of Spain, was eager to dissuade him from this mad venture, and thought that an eye-witness account of Moorish strength might bring the young Quixote to reason. By June 10 Aldana had returned to Madrid with the

29. AGS, Guerra Antigua 83, unnumbered folio consisting of *minutas* written by Juan Delegado and dated February 6, 1577; see esp. marginal notes.

30. AGS, Estado 395, foll. 143, 146; Estado 396, foll. 6, 84. Jozé Pereira Bayão, *Portugal cuidadoso e lastimado* (Lisboa, 1737), p. 461.

necessary information; due to illness he did not leave for Lisbon, to report to King Sebastian, until the 26th.[31]

Aldana's reaction to the crusading young king was sympathetic, with only a touch of skepticism; in a letter to Gabriel de Zayas, secretary of the Council of State, he wrote of Sebastian: "Guárdele Dios y proportione su poder a su valor, que es el que tiene menester la soldadesca cristiana para leuantarse del abismo adó va cayendo."[32] King Sebastian was very favorably impressed by Aldana, the veteran *capitán*. Undeterred by Aldana's reports, he spent hours interviewing him and questioning him, not only about Africa, but about military matters in general. At the end of July he finally permitted Aldana to return to Spain, giving him a gold chain worth 1000 ducats and a personal letter of recommendation to Philip II and making him promise that, with the latter's consent, he would join the expedition the following year.[33]

It was shortly after his return to Madrid that Aldana wrote the *Carta para Arias Montano* and, in all likelihood, the *Otavas dirigidas al Rey Don Felipe*.

The first of these two poems, dated September 7, 1577, is subtitled "Sobre la contemplación de Dios y los requisitos della." In it we see the completion of Aldana's spiritual return from the pagan Italy of his youth to the mystic Spain of his maturity. It is significant that this epistle is addressed to Benito Arias Montano, the famous humanist and Scriptural scholar. Aldana had probably known him in Antwerp, where Montano had spent four years supervising the new edition of the polyglot Bible. Another poet friend of Montano was Fray Luis de León. Aldana, though ten years younger than these two scholars, clearly belongs to the same group of religious thinkers, who might be termed the Neoplatonic descendants of the Spanish "erasmistas" of the earlier part of the century. We find in his epistle the same humanistic mysticism, the same unfulfilled yearning for direct experience of God, which characterizes many of Fray Luis's writings. There was undoubtedly contact, at least in the exchange of manuscript poetry, between Aldana and Fray Luis.[34]

Despite the transcendental quality of this epistle, we find in it signs of an innately Spanish viewpoint, as, for example, the culminating metaphor of this description of mystic union, a metaphor which anticipates by more than fifteen years the title of Fray Juan de los Ángeles' treatise, *Diálogos de la conquista del espiritual y secreto Reyno de Dios* (1595):

> Digo que puesta el alma en su sosiego
> espere a Dios cual ojo que cayendo

31. AGS, Estado 394, foll. 57, 65, 66, 253.

32. Ibid., fol. 253. Published by Danvila, *Moura*, p. 858, and by Schevill and Bonilla in their edition of Cervantes' *Viage del Parnaso* (Madrid, 1922), pp. 200–201.

33. AGS, Estado 394, foll. 83, 84, 89, 107, 113; Ieronimo Conestaggio, *Dell' unione del regno di Portogallo alla corona di Castiglia istoria* (Genova, 1585), fol. 17.

34. See my article, "A New Manuscript of a Poem Hitherto Attributed to Fray Luis de León," *HR*, XX (1952), 153–158.

se va sabrosamente al sueño ciego,
  que, al que trabaja por quedar durmiendo,
esa misma inquietud destrama el hilo
del sueño que se da no le pidiendo.
  Ella verá con desusado estilo
toda regarse y regalarse junto
de un salido de Dios sagrado Nilo;
  recogida su luz toda en un punto,
aquélla mirará de quien es ella
indignamente imagen y trasunto,
  y cual de amor la matutina estrella
dentro el abismo del eterno día
se cubrirá toda luciente y bella.
  Como la hermosísima judía
que llena de doncel, novicio espanto,
viendo Isaac que para sí venía,
  dejó cubrir el rostro con el manto
y, descendida presto del camello,
recoge humilde al novio casto y santo:
  disponga el alma así con Dios hacello
y de su presunción descienda altiva,
cubierto el rostro y reclinado el cuello,
  y aquella sacrosanta virtud viva,
única criadora y redentora,
con profunda humilidad en sí reciba.
  Mas ¿quién dirá, mas quién decir agora
podrá los peregrinos sentimientos
que el alma en sus potencias atesora?
  Aquellos ricos amontonamientos
de sobrecelestiales influencias,
dilatados de amor descubrimientos;
  aquellas ilustradas advertencias
de las Musas de Dios sobreesenciales,
destierro general de contingencias;
  aquellos nutrimentos divinales,
de la inmortalidad fomentadores,
que exceden los posibles naturales;
  aquellos—¿qué diré?—colmos favores,
privanzas nunca oídas, nunca vistas,
suma especialidad del bien de amores:
  ¡oh grandes, oh riquísimas conquistas
de las Indias de Dios, de aquel gran mundo
tan escondido a las mundanas vistas!
(Pt. I, 31^{v} f.; *EP*, 69 ff.)

In this climactic tercet the New World, with its treasure of souls for the Church and of gold for Spain, is equated metaphorically with the grace of God, the personal conquest of saintliness: no statement could better

sum up the two poles of the theocentric magnet that was the quixotic spirit of sixteenth-century Spain.[35]

And it is precisely with the imperial mission of Spain that Aldana's *Otavas dirigidas al Rey Don Felipe* are concerned. With unusual foresight he points out the threats which surround the Empire on all sides, especially that of the English navy. There are hints of real pessimism. And he dares urge Philip to cease his prudent appeasement and consolidate vigorously, aggressively:

¡Sús, que el guerrero Apóstol de Galicia
es tu soldado y va con fiera lanza
siguiendo la católica milicia
con banda de color de la venganza;
viva para en eterno la justicia
de Dios, que al descreído siempre alcanza,
y plántese en el cielo el estandarte,
no del gentil, mas del cristiano Marte!
(Pt. I, 17r.)

Yet Aldana's personal plans were not ones of vigorous action; he was anticipating, as we have seen in his epistle, a life of withdrawal and meditation. He describes to Arias Montano his ideal retreat, from which he wished to contemplate eternity: a hill on the coast, with a sweeping view of the ever-changing sky, earth, and sea. There is no doubt that he had in mind the fortress of San Sebastián, magnificently situated on the top of Monte Urgull, for eight days after his epistle to Montano he wrote the following *memorial* to the King.

Sacra Católica Real Magestad

Francisco de Aldana, capitán que ha sido de infantería española en Italia y Flandes, por Vuestra Magestad sargento mayor en la segunda jornada que hizo el Señor Don Juan en Leuante, y diuersas vezes en Olanda gouernador de compañías assí españolas como valonas y alemanas con cargo de la artillería de Vuestra Magestad en batterías que allá se ofrecieron, dize que auiendo seruido a Vuestra Magestad veynte y quatro años, assí de soldado auentajado como de los referidos cargos, y agora últimamente, después de auer estado diez meses en Madrid, en las dos jornadas fuera de sus reynos, donde de su parte no ha podido obrar con más fidelidad y deligentia de la que ha hecho, añadiéndose a estos méritos los de sus antepassados, la muerte de un hermano mayor en Olanda, y el quedar su persona con menos sangre de la derramada seruiendo a Vuestra Magestad, le suplica sea seruido hazelle *merced de la Mota de San Sebastián*, para que le sirua en ella, no con fin de retirarse de las ocasiones, mas para tener lugar de donde salga a ellas, empleando los años que le quedan de vida, como los passados, en seruicio de su Rey y Señor, porque hasta agora no le ha hecho Vuestra Magestad merced en que estriue para merecer otras mayores, esperadas como de hombre benemérito de su real grandeza.

(AGS, Guerra Antigua 82, 156.)

35. Since writing these lines, I have found striking confirmation in Américo Castro, "Quelques précisions au sujet de *España en su historia*," *BHi*, LIII (1951), 5–12.

This autograph document is dated September 15, 1577; on November 12 he was given the position, which carried an annual salary of 150 ducats (ibid., foll. 156–158). He had apparently achieved his last ambition, a place to spend "los años que le quedaban de vida," living, as he wrote to Montano, "contigo en paz dichosa esto que queda / por consumir de vida fugitiva." He hoped that Montano would leave his Andalusian retreat, the Peña de Aracena, and come to Monte Urgull.

Since winter had set in by the time he received his appointment as *alcaide*, Aldana was not sent directly to San Sebastián; he was ordered instead, on December 7, to take charge of the Conde de Bura, William of Orange's son, whom Philip was keeping as a gentleman-hostage. Aldana accompanied the Count from Alcalá de Henares to the fortress of Arévalo,[36] where they spent the winter. Later, presumably in the spring, they went to San Sebastián and established themselves in that fortress.[37]

Meanwhile, in Portugal, King Sebastian had been preparing for his expedition to conquer Africa. On January 21, 1578, he wrote his ambassador in Madrid to ask for Aldana to be sent as a military adviser; this was the first of many repeated requests.[38] His uncle Philip, as usual, put off making a decision for months; finally, at the end of June, when the fleet had already left Lisbon and Sebastian had reached the point of exasperation, the King of Spain sent an order to Aldana to report to Madrid at once for service with the King of Portugal. On July 8 Aldana left Madrid with letters for the King and, as gifts of good omen, the helmet and tunic which Charles V had worn when he rode victoriously into Tunis in 1535. After a forced delay of one or two weeks in the Puerto de Santa María, Aldana crossed over to Arcila to find that King Sebastian had decided to try to take Larache by land and that the army had already begun to march inland. This was a foolhardy plan of attack, and Aldana was tempted then and there to give the army up for lost;[39] nevertheless, though he suspected that disaster and death would be the outcome, he set out inland to overtake the King and deliver the letters and gifts.

Aldana and the King met somewhere near Três Ribeiros, which according to Portuguese historians was the bivouac point for the night of August 1. The King was delighted to see him at last and immediately put him in command of the whole army, which was a badly organized mass of foreign mercenary and green Portuguese troops. The new commander, as can be imagined, was not given much cooperation or obedience, and three days later the army was still in a semi-chaotic condition.[40]

36. AGS, Estado Castilla 159, fol. 70, and Estado Francia K 1543, B 42.
37. *Rime di Cosime d' Aldana . . . in morte di suo fratello* (Milano, 1587), fol. 2 (BNM, R-5528).
38. AGS, Estado 395, 54; cf. Estado 395–397, passim.
39. Pereira Bayão, *Portugal*, p. 573.
40. Ibid., p. 603; Conestaggio, *Dell' unione*, fol. 32v.

This army was met by a far larger Moorish force on Monday, August 4, on the plains of Alcázarquivir. King Sebastian was of course eager for battle, and Aldana for once did not try to restrain him, as some others did, since it seemed that it was now or never: food was running low, morale was ebbing, and retreat was out of the question.[41] The Christian army had crossed the Mocacín River by the only available bridge; they could now do nothing but advance, despite the risk of encirclement.

When the Moors fired their first salvo of artillery, the green Portuguese troops were terrified; within two hours panic and rout and wholesale slaughter were the result. In the confusion that ensued, the King himself was lost sight of; hence, as is well known, arose rumors of his survival and the legends of that peculiar Portuguese messianic cult known as "sebastianismo." It is not surprising, under such circumstances, that Aldana too disappeared.

Yet some people remembered later having seen him toward the end. "Y el día de la batalla, andando Aldana a pie por le haber muerto el caballo, le encontró el Rey y le dijo, 'Capitán, ¿por qué no tomáis caballo?' Y él dicen que le respondió, 'Señor, ya no es tiempo sino de morir, aunque sea a pie.' Y con la espada en la mano tinta en sangre, se metió entre los enemigos, haciendo el oficio de tan buen soldado y capitán como él era."[42] This from Diego de Torres, who interviewed survivors in Lisbon. When Juan de Silva, the Spanish ambassador who had fought with King Sebastian, was ransomed, he gave a similar and partly first-hand account. "Al Capitán Aldana vi comenzada la batalla al tiempo que perdimos nuestra artillería. Hablóme desconfiadamente en el subceso, y dicen quentonces habló también al Rey. Esto no vi yo. Había peleado hasta entonces muy bien y dado muestras de gran corazón; después me dicen que se tornó a engolfar y le mataron."[43]

So, having only just given signs of his full poetic maturity, Francisco de Aldana died in the disastrous Battle of Alcázarquivir at the age of forty-one. His friend Benito Arias Montano wrote: "Gran pena me ha dado la muerte del Capitán Aldana, y no me la ha aliviado el tener casi pasado este trago con la sospecha grande que dello tenía."[44] Cosme de Aldana published three volumes of verse, in Italian and in Spanish, as an expression of grief at his brother's death.

Aldana figures as a minor personage in the plays by Lope de Vega and by Vélez de Guevara that are based on the expedition of King Sebastian. Also, though not mentioned by name, he seems to be the Spanish soldier

41. *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, XL, 107. For details on this expedition and Aldana's role in it, see J. M. de Queiroz Velloso, *Don Sebastián, 1554–1578*, trans. R. de Garciasol (Madrid, 1943).

42. Danvila, *Moura*, p. 867.

43. *Collección de documentos inéditos*, XL, 113–114 (AGS, Estado 410).

44. Ibid., XLI, 377.

who figures in a *romance* on the Battle of Alcázarquivir.[45] But by far the most important literary result of Francisco de Aldana's death was the posthumous publication by grief-stricken Cosme of his extant works. Cosme's editions are by no means good ones, but to them we owe almost all the poetry by Francisco that has survived. His poetry not only rounds out the biography of an unusual figure of sixteenth-century Spain, but is in itself of considerable literary value; a critical study and edition of Aldana's works have long been needed.

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45. Lope de Vega, *La tragedia del Rey Don Sebastián y bautismo del Príncipe de Marruecos*. Luis Vélez de Guevara, *Comedia famosa del Rey Don Sebastián*. Durán, BAE XVI, No. 1246; cf. Henry de Castries, *Les Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc de 1530 à 1845, Archives et bibliothèques de France*, I (Paris, 1905), 606–607.

DIDEROT'S THEORY OF LANGUAGE AS THE MEDIUM OF LITERATURE

By Marlou Switten

FEW QUESTIONS were more heatedly debated throughout the eighteenth century than those concerning the merits and defects of the French language as a vehicle for poetic expression. Rules were formulated governing the esthetic values of vowel timbres and consonants, and there were numerous attempts to define precisely those qualities which might render the language more harmonious and agreeable. This lively interest in French prosody created an atmosphere of literary polemic and controversy in which Diderot was one of the principal participants. Although most of the critics and grammarians who concerned themselves with linguistic problems can only be considered second-rate writers, their doctrines are nevertheless important, for they determined a movement of ideas which led directly to far-reaching stylistic innovations. Diderot's theories, while in many ways peculiarly his own, often show a close relationship to those of his contemporaries. I should therefore like to begin my discussion of Diderot's conception of language as a literary medium by briefly indicating certain trends which are important as a background for his ideas.

Linguistic disputes were not confined to literary critics or to literature. The debates of the former were, in large measure, influenced by philosophical and grammatical speculations concerning the nature and uses of language. To be sure, the viewpoint which dominated the entire century and found its fullest expression in the *Encyclopédie* was the notion that the highest, if not the only function of language is the clear and logical expression of thought. And accordingly, the most desirable style was considered to be that which most nearly attained the ideals of precision and clarity. The *grammairiens-philosophes* ignored or rejected the use of language to transcend the rational; they left no place for feeling; they did not think it necessary to account for the emotive power of words.

But if this was the dominant conception of the eighteenth century, it was not the only one. Even before the beginning of the century logic had begun to be aware of another domain of language: affectivity which surrounds and colors the analytic expression of thought.[1] And concomitant to the growing awareness of feeling was the spread of empiricism with its doctrine that all knowledge is derived from sensory experience. Inevitably this new philosophy transformed the study of language. One has only to turn to the second part of Condillac's *Essai sur l'origine des connaissances humaines* to discover the extent of the transformation. In Condillac's

1. See Alexis François, "Précurseurs français de la grammaire 'affective,' " *Mélanges de linguistique offerts à Charles Bally* (Genève, 1939).

view, language did not develop in accordance with the laws of human reason, as the *grammairiens-philosophes* had maintained, but rather arose out of the need of human beings to communicate their desires and emotions to each other. Our entire system of verbal and written symbols, he wrote, originated in natural signs: inarticulate sounds —"les cris que la nature a établis pour les sentimens de joie, de crainte, de douleur, etc."—actions and gestures.[2]

Condillac not only acknowledged the importance of feeling in the analysis of language, he gave it the place of honor, the place reason had previously held. In so doing, he paved the way for a revitalized conception of language as a literary medium. Primitive speech was concerned with accent and inflection more than with the intellectual content of words; prosody and music were thus allied, and, as a result, sonority, rhythm and movement became the very stuff of language, not just agreeable decorations. Moreover, according to Condillac, the art of using figured and metaphorical speech was at first a necessary stylistic device whereby the ideas rendered so vividly by action and gesture could be communicated by means of articulated sounds alone. Poetry was therefore prior to prose, metaphoric language was once indispensable. In the light of these conceptions, imagery acquired a new force and poetry a new meaning.

It seems quite evident that Diderot accepted without further question Condillac's basic assumptions concerning the origin of language.[3] He was particularly impressed by the energy and expressiveness of gesture and inarticulate cries. But it must be said at the outset that although many of Diderot's ideas seem to have been inspired by Condillac's *Essai*, there are essential differences between the two men, differences so fundamental that very often the same ideas, the same words take on entirely new meanings with Diderot, meanings which Condillac could not have imagined. It is perhaps a question of attitude. To be sure Diderot the philosopher, the encyclopedist saw in language a medium for the communication and preservation of ideas, and this, for him, was by no means the least worthy of its functions. He was in a very real sense a *grammairien-philosophe*. But he was also an artist; he was tormented by the problem which language places before a novelist or poet: how to transform an essentially poor and shabby collection of words into a dynamic representation of ideas and emotions which, in their complexity and simultaneity, defy expression. Language was something more to Diderot than a phenomenon to be explained or a set of rules to be codified. This attitude at once sets him apart from the philosophers who argued about the origins and uses of language and from the critics and grammarians who battled fiercely over the requisites of

2. Condillac, *Essai sur l'origine des connaissances humaines*, ed. Raymond Lenoir (Paris, 1924), p. 33. Part I, sect. ii, par. 35.

3. For example, see Diderot, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Assézat and Tourneux, (Paris: Garnier, 1875–1877), I, 372; II, 117; IX, 355. All references to Diderot's works are to this edition.

a harmonious phrase. It also makes his linguistic theories, particularly those concerning the artistic possibilities of language, extremely rich and suggestive.

For Diderot, the special task of the creative writer is to reshape language to serve his own ends and express his own originality. The way in which a writer does this may be explained by investigating Diderot's ideas on the difference between practical, philosophical and poetic language. Practical language has two outstanding characteristics: conventionality and poverty. It is, therefore, completely inadequate for the expression of individual attitudes and emotions. In the *Réfutation . . . d'Helvétius* Diderot explains:

> Nous sentons tous diversement, et nous parlons tous de même. . . .
> A proprement parler, les sensations d'un homme sont incommunicables à un autre, parce qu'elles sont diverses. Si les signes sont communs, c'est par disette. Je suppose que Dieu donnât subitement à chaque individu une langue de tout point analogue à ses sensations, on ne s'entendrait plus. (II, 325.)

In order for language to be a suitable medium of communication in a large society of people, it is necessary and desirable that words become generalized, that each word have a core of meaning denoting a group rather than an individual experience. Indeed, as Diderot suggests, if every linguistic sign were the sign of a particular human experience, we would have an unlearnable number of words, and the idiom of one individual would be incomprehensible to another. Moreover, if communication is to take place easily and efficiently, words do and must function to a certain degree as abstract signs. Were we to stop at every so-called concrete word and bring to mind the object for which it stands, were we to visualize clearly every image used during the course of a conversation, the speed with which ideas are transmitted would be immeasurably lessened. Hardly need it be emphasized that this particular characteristic of language constituted a serious defect for Diderot, who believed that "toute abstraction n'est qu'un signe vide d'idée" (II, 180).

Not only do linguistic terms tend towards generalization, they are also inclined to lose their freshness and vigor. Words frequently used in everyday speech soon become flat and lifeless. In fact, words have no vitality, in Diderot's view, precisely because they do not directly refer to an idea, a sensation or an object; they do not stimulate the mind or the imagination. And yet, despite all this, conversation is somehow carried on, impressions are somehow transmitted from one person to another. This constitutes for Diderot "le mystère de la conversation journalière" (XI, 133), which he undertakes to explain in the *Salon de 1767:*

> Nous avons été enfants, il y a malheureusement longtemps. . . . Dans l'enfance on nous prononçait des mots; ces mots se fixaient dans notre mémoire, et le sens dans notre entendement, ou par une idée, ou par une image; et cette idée ou image était accompagnée d'aversion, de haine, de plaisir, de terreur, de désir, d'indignation,

de mépris; pendant un assez grand nombre d'années, à chaque mot prononcé, l'idée ou l'image nous revenait avec la sensation qui lui était propre; mais à la longue nous en avons usé avec les mots, comme avec les pièces de monnaie: nous ne regardons plus à l'empreinte, à la légende, au cordon, pour en connaître la valeur; nous les donnons et nous les recevons à la forme et au poids: ainsi des mots, vous dis-je. (XI, 133.)

In conversation, words have ceased to have meaning in the fullest sense; they have taken on the anonymity of familiar currency. "De là vient la rapidité de la conversation où tout s'expédie par formule" (XI, 134).

Practical language, then, is necessarily conventional, deficient and imperfect. Speech must be made to conform to many sensations and experiences, to transmit them speedily and efficiently, if it is to be at all useful. But this sort of usefulness is disastrous to literature, especially to poetry; automatized language stifles creative thinking. Men endowed with fertile imaginations (a category which, for Diderot, includes the philosopher) must, so to speak, return to a state of infancy. They must deal with ideas and images, not with signs and formulae. The poet, specifically, effects a reconcretion of language by restoring to words their true meanings and vitality. He forces us to examine the value of the coins we pass so easily from hand to hand, for his expressions are composed of "cas rares, choses inouïes, non vues, rarement aperçues, rapports subtils d'idées, images singulières et neuves" (XI, 134).

Clearly the original genius, be he poet or philosopher, must violate conventional usages, disrupt the habitual cast of language, force words into new relationships which will reveal what he alone has thought and experienced. Here, however, the parallel ends. For the philosopher, language is predominantly the transmitter of ideas, of original perceptions and new discoveries. The essential qualities of philosophical discourse, clarity and precision, those qualities so brilliantly exemplified by the French language, require exact terms and a linguistic structure readily adaptable to logic and analysis. Not so the prerequisites of poetry. The language of imaginative literature is intense and energetic, alogical, demanding all the fervent expressiveness which the poet can command. Thus while both poet and philosopher must withstand the process of automatization which, in practical language, stifles creativity, the ideals of linguistic expression toward which they strive are by no means identical.

First and foremost, the quality most essential to poetry and least necessary to philosophical discourse is affectivity. Poetic expression must be infused with the delicate shadings of individual emotions and sensations. This poses a linguistic problem whose importance cannot be overemphasized. Sensation is immediately and completely given; verbal expression occurs in time and is analytic:

Autre chose est l'état de notre âme; autre chose, le compte que nous en rendons, soit à nous-même, soit aux autres; autre chose, la sensation totale et instantanée de

cet état; autre chose, l'attention successive et détaillée que nous sommes forcés d'y donner pour l'analyser, la manifester, et nous faire entendre. Notre âme est un tableau mouvant, d'après lequel nous peignons sans cesse: nous employons bien du temps à le rendre avec fidélité: mais il existe en entier, et tout à la fois: l'esprit ne va pas à pas comptés comme l'expression. (I, 369.)

Language is, in essence, incommensurate with thought; it is an artificial structure, necessary for the exteriorization of ideas, but profoundly different from that which it expresses. For the uses of philosophy, analytic language, if not faultless, is at least sufficient. But to the poet such a language is poor indeed, for it must inevitably fail to render the complexities of the soul.

Diderot's interest in the perplexing relationship between thought and verbal expression, his acute realization of the inadequacies of the latter, led him to search for a kind of language which would integrally represent sensation and emotion, which would be synthetic rather than analytic and which might also have a definite esthetic value. So it was that he turned to primitive language, gesture and natural cries, thinking to discover there expressive possibilities somehow lost to civilized speech. Gesture, particularly, seemed to him fraught with a rich suggestivity, vivid because unworded. Recalling the sleep-walking scene in *Macbeth*, Diderot observes: "Il y a de gestes sublimes que toute l'éloquence oratoire ne rendra jamais" (I, 354). It is more difficult to state precisely his ideas concerning the expressive value of natural cries. They formed, first of all, the language of nature—a sufficient explanation, perhaps, of their esthetic effectiveness for a critic such as Diderot, who wanted above all truth and realism. More important, however, and revelatory of the particular qualities which must have impressed him, is the function attributed to the natural cry in the beginning stages of speech. It will be remembered that according to Condillac, natural cries originated in man's need to exteriorize his most profound desires and passions. Diderot adopted this theory and affirmed also that because men are formed alike, because they experience basically the same needs and the same emotions, natural cries are universally and immediately intelligible:

De la liaison des passions avec des organes naissent les voix ou les cris. Si la douleur pique l'intestin d'un enfant chinois ou européen, c'est le même instrument, la même corde, le même harpeur, pourquoi le son ou le cri différerait-il? Les interjections sont les mêmes dans toutes les langues.

C'est ainsi que tel son se lie nécessairement avec telle sensation. (IX, 355.)

From this it would seem that inarticulate cries have an exceptionally poignant expressive value: they adequately render sensation which words are incapable of translating. It is for this reason that in tense and dramatic situations, "ce qui émeut toujours, ce sont des cris, des mots inarticulés, des voix rompues, quelques monosyllabes qui s'échappent par intervalles, je ne sais quel murmure dans la gorge, entre les dents" (VII, 105–106).

The direct counterpart of natural cries in modern language is the interjection. Indirectly, the expressiveness of the inarticulate cry seems to have been retained by voice inflection. Accent is entrusted with the task of transmitting from one person to another the emotional content of a phrase which might not be clear from the words alone. Therefore, although conversation is in one sense an automatic and mechanical act, human speech, by virtue of voice inflection, can nevertheless become a medium through which subtle nuances of personal feeling are revealed. In the individual's expression of the sensations which are distinctly his, the variety of accent makes up for the scarcity of words. "La quantité des mots est bornée; celle des accents est infinie; c'est ainsi que chacun a sa langue propre, individuelle, et parle comme il sent; est froid ou chaud, rapide ou tranquille; est lui et n'est que lui, tandis qu'à l'idée et à l'expression il paraît ressembler à un autre" (XI, 135–136). Thus spoken language can be charged with emotional content despite stereotyped forms of expression—a precious lesson to the poet. Within the general language—"la langue pauvre et commune" (XI, 136)—the individual finds another, more subtle—"la langue du sentiment, la langue de nature, l'idiome individuel" (XI, 136)—which will transmit his intimate sensations and feelings.

Preoccupied with the energy and expressiveness of inarticulate cries, or so it would seem, Diderot expanded and developed the notion of the "cri de nature." He designated by that name those particularly apt phrases, be they even quite long, which epitomize certain characteristics of human nature, presumably to indicate that those phrases act as integral units and possess the same qualities as the cries to which they are likened.

In the *Satire I* Diderot explains more fully the meaning which he has attributed to the "cri de nature":

> N'avez-vous pas remarqué . . . que telle est la variété de cette prérogative qui nous est propre, et qu'on appelle raison, qu'elle correspond seule à toute la diversité de l'instinct des animaux? De là vient que sous la forme bipède de l'homme il n'y a aucune bête innocente ou malfaisante dans l'air, au fond des forêts, dans les eaux, que vous ne puissiez reconnaître. . . . Rien de plus rare qu'un homme qui soit homme de toute pièce; aucun de nous qui ne tienne un peu de son analogue animal.
> Aussi, autant d'hommes, autant de cris divers. (VI, 303–304.)

Each passion has a particular cry which is proper to it, and the poet who can seize this "cri de la passion" lays bare the deepest secrets of our hearts (VI, 304). There are also the "cri de caractère," the instinctive expression of human character traits, the cries which pertain to and vividly indicate a particular profession or occupation, and the cries significative of the general spirit of a people, of which Horace's "Qu'il mourût!" is the supreme example (VI, 310).

The meaning of "cri" in these contexts is clearly much larger than that which one could conceivably attach to a simple, inarticulate cry. In fact,

in the *Satire I* Diderot has sketched a brief treatise on linguistic realism; he has exposed the most subtle resources of the dialoguist; he has shown how convincing character portrayal can be effected by conversation alone —a valuable lesson for the poet and one which Diderot did not forget in writing his own novels.[4]

It is evident from these reflections that even the most unassuming of verbal communications are carried out in two dimensions: that of artistically sterile conventional signs and formulae, and that of suggestivity. Within the latter fall accent and voice inflection, the cries of nature, of passion and of character, the forces which vitalize and individuate language. Through accent and voice inflection emotional overtones are conveyed. The natural cries spring from instinct, from human nature itself whose characteristic and often amusing aberrations they so exactly portray.

To be sure, the language of nature is not poetry; it is only the raw material of poetry. Although instinctive to a certain degree, poetic expression is yet intentional, created, expressive and at the same time esthetically pleasing. But on the "langue du sentiment, la langue de nature, l'idiome individuel" the poet may model his phrases; he can learn to choose just that accent, just that wording which will reveal a complicated mental state or attitude. The choosing, however, is not so easy; the "accent de la passion" is more readily perceived and understood than verbally transcribed. Its evasiveness is despairingly noted by Diderot in the *Second Entretien sur le Fils naturel:*

> Je voudrais bien vous parler de l'accent propre à chaque passion. Mais cet accent se modifie en tant de manières; c'est un sujet si fugitif et si délicat, que je n'en connais aucun qui fasse mieux sentir l'indigence de toutes les langues qui existent et qui ont existé. On a une idée juste de la chose; elle est présente à la mémoire. Cherche-t-on l'expression? on ne la trouve point. On combine les mots de grave et d'aigu, de prompt et de lent, de doux et de fort; mais le réseau, toujours trop lâche, ne retient rien. (VII, 107.)

Accent adds to spoken language a dimension which does not exist in written language. Words on paper are merely signs which stand for language sounds, twice removed, in this sense, from the ideas and feelings they are meant to express. In the extériorization of thought by means of written characters there is no way of noting the manner of articulation which, as language is spoken, does so much to reveal the emotions and intentions of the speaker. But, as Diderot indicates, the poet is able to order and control the inherent musical properties of language: word sonorities and rhythm. Even when not read aloud, the symbols used in writing, because they correspond to spoken sounds, convey a minimum of aural imagery. And if the poet is

4. Herbert Dieckmann in his recent article, "The Relationship between Diderot's *Satire I* and *Satire II*," *Romanic Review*, XLIII (February, 1952), 12–26, has indicated how the "cri de nature" is utilized and developed in *Le Neveu de Rameau*, for instance.

skillful enough in the manipulation of these resources, he may very nearly equal, although he cannot entirely capture the expressiveness of the language of nature.

As early as the *Lettre sur les sourds et muets*, Diderot showed himself to be fully aware of the particular effectiveness of harmony and rhythm. He regarded them as the most important of stylistic virtues, not only for the poet but for the orator, for all those who wish to affect and persuade. He distinguished clearly, however, between eloquence and poetry, a distinction which, written at a time when the two were hopelessly entangled, attests unusual discernment:

Il faut distinguer, dans tout discours en général, la pensée et l'expression; si la pensée est rendue avec clarté, pureté et précision, c'en est assez pour la conversation familière; joignez à ces qualités le choix des termes avec le nombre et l'harmonie de la période, et vous aurez le style qui convient à la chaire; mais vous serez encore loin de la poésie, surtout de la poésie que l'ode et le poëme épique déploient dans leurs descriptions. Il passe alors dans le discours du poëte un esprit qui en meut et vivifie toutes les syllabes. Qu'est-ce que cet esprit? j'en ai quelquefois senti la présence; mais tout ce que j'en sais, c'est que c'est lui qui fait que les choses sont dites et représentées tout à la fois; que dans le même temps que l'entendement les saisit, l'âme en est émue, l'imagination les voit et l'oreille les entend, et que le discours n'est plus seulement un enchaînement de termes énergiques qui exposent la pensée avec force et noblesse, mais que c'est encore un tissue d'hiéroglyphes entassés les uns sur les autres qui la peignent. Je pourrais dire, en ce sens, que toute poésie est emblématique. (I, 374.)

This is one of the most astonishing and provocative passages in all of Diderot's works, a truly remarkable attempt to define poetic expression which, judged by modern standards, far surpasses anything else offered by the eighteenth century. Moreover, as Diderot continues his discussion of the hieroglyph, it becomes evident that here is no casual judgment but a careful reflection, vividly summed up in a felicitous metaphor. In the perfect hieroglyph, the union of sound and sense is complete; poetry becomes a synthetic expression compounded of word timbres and meanings in which description and representation are simultaneous. Because language sounds are so important a part of the hieroglyph, it cannot be translated from one language into another. An example from Virgil illustrates this fact:

Virgile dit d'Euryale blessé d'un coup mortel:

Pulchrosque per artus
It cruor, inque humeros cervix collapsa recumbit:
Purpureus veluti quum flos, succisus aratro,
Languescit moriens; lassove papavera collo
Demisere caput, pulviam quum forte gravantur.
Aeneid., lib. IX, vers 433–437

Je ne serais guère plus étonné de voir ces vers s'engendrer par quelque jet fortuit de caractères, que d'en voir passer toutes les beautés hiéroglyphiques dans une traduction; et l'image d'un jet de sang, *it cruor;* et celle de la tête d'un moribond qui retombe sur son épaule, *cervix collapsa recumbit;* et le bruit d'une faux qui scie, *succisus;* et la défaillance de *languescit moriens;* et la mollesse de la tige du pavot *lassove papavera collo*, et le *demisere caput*, et le *gravantur* qui finit le tableau. *Demisere* est aussi mou que la tige d'une fleur; *gravantur* pèse autant que son calice chargé de pluie; *collapsa* marque effort et chute. Le même hiéroglyphe double se trouve à *papavera*. Les deux premières syllabes tiennent la tête du pavot droite, et les deux dernières l'inclinent. (I, 376–377.)

The focal point of Diderot's attention is the relation between language and things described. Poetic expression is a verbal analogue of the object or action rendered, and in this particular sense, it is—of necessity—symbolical. Language cannot directly represent an object; it can only evoke a series of impressions which must be imaginatively constructed into an object. Speaking of the hieroglyph proper to each art, Diderot says: "C'est la chose même que le peintre montre; les expressions du musicien et du poëte n'en sont que des hiéroglyphes" (I, 388). To a large degree, the harmony of the hieroglyph is onomatopoetic; and yet at the same time it tends to surpass a simple imitation of the noises and movements of natural phenomena. The sonorities utilized not only imitate, by sheer physical similarity, the object described, they become an intimate part of the content of the verse such that idea and expression are inseparable. The poet has quickened and vitalized language; the hieroglyph he has created cannot be translated or copied, for it is uniquely his.

Curiously enough, Diderot does not again speak of the hieroglyph. The word itself seemed to have only a passing interest for him, and probably its use in the *Lettre sur les sourds et muets* was due to the popularity of Warburton's essay on hieroglyphics which first appeared in French translation in 1744.[5] Indeed, the term was well chosen, for it happily fitted Diderot's ideas. But whereas the conception of poetic language as a subtle fusion of sound and meaning, so brilliantly exposed in the *Lettre sur les sourds et muets*, remained basically the same in subsequent works, the word "hiéroglyphe" was dropped; and one can only suppose that it was for Diderot a convenient and striking metaphor which he did not wish to carry too far.

In the *Lettre sur les sourds et muets*, Diderot is apparently concerned with descriptive poetry; the examples he gives indicate that he had in mind a remarkably suggestive and delicate sort of word painting. However, the

5. The essay on hieroglyphics comprises sect. 4 of Book IV of William Warburton's *The Divine Legation of Moses Demonstrated*. In regard to the French translation and one aspect of its subsequent popularity, see James Doolittle, "Jaucourt's Use of Source Material in the *Encyclopédie*," *MLN*, LXV (June, 1950), 387–392. A goodly portion of the second part of Condillac's *Essai*, for instance, is inspired by or taken directly from Warburton.

expressive values of linguistic sounds need not be limited to the specific uses of description. The resonances of words, discreetly utilized, not only imitate natural sounds and movements, but also arouse emotional overtones, create an affective tonality which envelops meaning and conveys the inner experiences of the poet. By this means, poetry acquires an intimate expressiveness, the quality we have come to call lyric.[6] To be sure, Diderot would never have condoned the sacrifice of sense to sound and rhythm, a sacrifice which many modern poets have made all too willingly. Yet it was toward the liberation of the inherent musicality of language that Diderot's thought seems to have been oriented, especially in the *Salon de 1767*, and he sought in this way to render language "l'image même de l'âme" (XI, 268).

It is rhythm which most interests Diderot in the *Salon*. One could hardly expect from him a pedantic definition of poetic rhythm as the regular return of long and short quantities or rhythmic accents, partly, of course, because a certain confusion existed in the eighteenth century concerning the nature of rhythm, particularly the rhythm of French poetry in contrast to that of Greek and Latin. As Maurice Grammont points out, French verse, at first entirely dependent on syllabic count, slowly became rhythmic also.[7] Failure to recognize the equivocal nature of French verse structure vitiated much of eighteenth-century critical writing, especially when it was a question of comparing French poetry with that of the ancients. Diderot saw no more clearly into the technical problems of rhythm than did his contemporaries; but in characteristic fashion, supremely disdainful of definitions, he went straight to the heart of the matter. He talks about sound and movement, rhythm and harmony all at once, as if purposely to show that, taken separately, these things are meaningless. What is rhythm?

> C'est un choix particulier d'expressions; c'est une certaine distribution de syllabes longues ou brèves, dures ou douces, sourdes ou aigres, légères ou pesantes, lentes ou rapides, plaintives ou gaies, ou un enchaînement de petites onomatopées analogues aux idées qu'on a, et dont on est fortement occupé; aux sensations qu'on ressent et qu'on veut exciter; aux phénomènes dont on cherche à rendre les accidents; aux passions qu'on éprouve, et au cri animal qu'elles arracheraient; à la nature, au

6. In the eighteenth century, lyric poetry was usually defined as poetry that is intended to be sung or put to music. But also, its proper subject matter was considered to be sentiment or emotion. The *Encyclopédie* article "Poésie lyrique" points out the intimate alliance between lyric poetry and music and then continues: "Si cela est, la Musique étant une expression des sentimens du cœur par les sons inarticulés, la *poésie* musicale ou *lyrique* sera l'expression des sentimens par les sons articulés, ou, ce qui est la même chose, par les mots." These ideas only confirm the impression one has in reading what Diderot says about sound and rhythm in poetry, especially in the *Salon de 1767*: that here he is working toward a conception of lyric poetry in a more modern sense, that is, of a kind of poetry whose distinguishing characteristic is the expression of the poet's intimate feelings rather than of outward events or objects.

7. Maurice Grammont, *Petit traité de versification française* (Paris, 1908), pp. 1, 47–48.

caractère, au mouvement des actions qu'on se propose de rendre; et cet art-là n'est pas plus de convention que les effets de l'arc-en-ciel; il ne se prend point; il ne se communique point; il peut seulement se perfectionner. Il est inspiré par un goût naturel, par la mobilité de l'âme, par la sensibilité. C'est l'image même de l'âme rendue par les inflexions de la voix, les nuances successives, les passages, les tons d'un discours accéléré, ralenti, éclatant, étouffé, tempéré en cent manières diverses. (XI, 268.)

The rhythm of which Diderot speaks is anything but a regular, mechanical accent; it is a dynamic, impelling sound sequence, modeled on the pulsation of thought itself. This rhythm cannot be learned; Diderot has only scorn for the would-be poet who thinks he can acquire rhythm from treatises on poetry (XI, 267). True rhythm is spontaneous, natural; it has its source in feeling, not in reflection.

The poet weaves, almost instinctively, a rhythmic magic; he builds with words a musical image of the sensations he wishes to express. In the article "Encyclopédie," Diderot makes it clear that the harmonies gained from delicately nuanced word patterns are more to be prized than accuracy and precision. To be sure, the truth must not be offended; but in all cases where discourse is enriched by musicalization, the artist need not hesitate to replace "le mot propre" by a less exact but more harmonious synonym which will convey not only the facts but also the repercussion of facts on the artist's sensibility. "Le sacrifice du mot propre ne se faisant jamais que dans les occasions où l'espirit n'en est pas trop écarté par l'expression mélodieuse, alors l'entendement le supplée; le discours se rectifie, la période demeure harmonieuse; je vois la chose comme elle est; je vois, de plus, le caractère de l'auteur; le prix qu'il a attaché lui-même aux objets dont il m'entretient; la passion qui l'anime: le spectacle se complique, se multiplie, et en même proportion, l'enchantement s'accroît dans mon esprit; l'oreille est contente, et la vérité n'est point offensée" (XIV, 448).

Diderot's reflections on the hieroglyph and his commentaries in the *Salon de 1767* clearly indicate that he regarded the distinction between form and content as an unfortunate misconception of the nature of poetic expression. If we are to judge by the number of times he returns to this same question, the problem must have been of extreme importance to him. He puts the matter squarely in the *Réflexions sur Térence:* "Je conviens qu'où il n'y a point de chose, il ne peut y avoir de style; mais je ne conçois pas comment on peut ôter au style sans ôter à la chose" (V, 235). If a single word is changed in a literary work, if the harmony is broken, the idea itself is no longer the same. The language of a great poet is so close to the object, the sound and feel of the words so exactly suited, that the two become identified. To suppress the poet's original expressions, the seductive harmonies and vivid imagery which arouse and inflame the reader's imagination is to destroy the effectiveness of his poem.

It is quite evident that for Diderot the language of poetry is not to be

confused with that of philosophy or of ordinary speech. In conversation, impressions are transmitted with a minimum of refinement and a maximum of speed; philosophical discourse demands a judicious and reflective use of words, a precise and logical presentation of ideas; but in poetry, ideas are not only presented but represented, evoked, suggested, subtly nuanced and colored by the resonances of words and the persuasive energy of rhythm. Nor is poetry to be confused with eloquence. To be sure, harmony of style is necessary to both, but the harmony of rhetoric is purely phrasal whereas that of poetry—of the poetic hieroglyph—is both phrasal and syllabic. Underlying this superficial distinction is a more profound one: for the purposes of rhetoric, it suffices to clothe ideas in agreeable and elegant dress, to add grace and dignity to what might otherwise be a series of rather drab statements. But the ideas are completely intelligible without the added polish. Poetry, on the other hand, does not exist without rhythm and harmony. "Il passe . . . dans le discours du poëte un esprit qui en meut et vivifie toutes les syllabes . . . le discours n'est plus seulement un enchaînement de termes énergiques qui exposent la pensée avec force et noblesse . . . c'est encore un tissu d'hiéroglyphes entassés les uns sur les autres qui la peignent" (I, 374). In poetry, vowel timbres and consonants, accents and voice inflections are rendered expressive—not simply decorative—and language becomes vibrant, dynamic, capable of graphically representing objects and of evoking a complex of ideas and sensations which exist simultaneously in the mind.

Diderot's insight into the nature of poetic language was remarkably keen. While he fully subscribed to the notion that language is the indispensable medium through which ideas are preserved and communicated, his enthusiasm for philosophy was not so great that it blinded him to the particular merits of literature or to the advantages that artistic expression might have in certain respects over philosophical discourse. The aim of poetry is not to demonstrate and prove, but to affect and persuade, to convey to the reader what the poet has felt and imagined. According to Diderot, therefore, the poet must be linguistically creative; he must be a word-artist in the deepest sense of the term; he must stamp language with his own originality and turn it into something surpassingly beautiful.

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ÉMILE DESCHAMPS AND SOME OF HIS MUSICAL COLLABORATORS (UNPUBLISHED LETTERS)

By Aaron Schaffer

THE SECOND PART of Henri Girard's exhaustive monograph on the dilettantism of Emile Deschamps[1] is concerned with the "relations d'un poète romantique avec les peintres, les sculpteurs et les musiciens de son temps." M. Girard quotes extensively from letters written by the indefatigable (and often illegible) epistolarian who is the subject of his study, but he seems to have been unaware of the existence of a collection of nearly three hundred letters written by Deschamps to his life-long friends and fellow music-lovers, Jules and Virginie de Croze.[2] The material here presented constitutes a set of addenda to Girard's chapters on Deschamps' musical tastes and on the texts for which operatic or lyric settings were prepared by some of the leading composers of the day. As an indication of the depth of Deschamps' feelings for the Crozes, I quote, *in extenso*, a letter written from Paris on September 17, 1831, to Jules de Croze, who was visiting a family of relatives or friends at the château de Vauréal near Ste-Menehould in the department of the Marne; as we shall see, only the second half of this letter has to do with music.[3] The Louise who is mentioned is the eight-year-old daughter of the Crozes to whom Deschamps was soon to dedicate one of his best-known original poems, "Le Retour à Paris," written in this very year at his friends' château at Chassaigne near Brioude in Auvergne; Ménéchet is Edouard Mennechet (1794–1845) government official and member of Deschamps' social and literary set during the 1820's and 1830's, who tried his hand, with little success, at dramatic composition. As the name suggests, *Law* is a "drame en trois actes" based on the career of the Scotch economist who was the author of the ill-fated "Mississippi Bubble."[4]

1. *Un Bourgeois dilettante à l'époque romantique: Emile Deschamps, 1791–1871* and *Emile Deschamps dilettante*, published as Vol. II of the Bibliothèque de la *Revue de litterature comparée* by the Librairie Honoré Champion (Paris, 1921).

2. After almost ten years of correspondence, Deschamps discovered a kinship (real or fancied) with the Crozes; beginning with a letter dated June 1, 1829, he often addresses Mme de Croze, or speaks of her, as "chère cousine." Deschamps' letters to the Crozes were recently acquired by the University of Texas library; their nature and contents are indicated in a brief article by the present writer in *The Library Chronicle of the University of Texas*, IV, No. 3 (Summer, 1952), 112–117.

3. The Vauréal family is mentioned in eight of the letters of the University of Texas collection, always in terms of warm friendship.

4. "Le Retour à Paris" was first published under the title of "Départ" in the *Annales romantiques* for 1832, then, under its present title, as a separate brochure, by Urbain Canel in the same year; it is, of course, included both in the 1841 edition of the *Poésies d'Emile Deschamps* and in the Lemerre *Œuvres complètes*.—It may be appropriate for me, at this point, to state that I have made some changes, in the direction of modernization, in Deschamps' orthography and punctuation. Doubtful decipherments of his handwriting are indicated by question marks.

The letter of December 17, 1831, reads as follows:

J'apprends par notre chère cousine, mon excellent Jules, que j'ai encore le temps de vous écrire, et Dieu sait si j'en profite avec joie. Votre dernière lettre m'a charmé comme de coutume; c'est une bien douce habitude que d'être charmé, surtout quand on en a autant besoin que moi; car, il est de fait que le malheur s'attache à moi comme votre amitié; ne me retirez donc jamais celle-ci. Je resterai avec mon autre compagnon qui se serait bien vite défait de moi. Mais comment puis-je me plaindre de rien quand vous, le meilleur et le plus aimable de tous, vous connaissez plus que personne les dérisions du sort et les injustices des hommes? Vous avez raison, mêlons nos infortunes, nous en ferons un bonheur. Mme Virginie est venue dîner hier avec Louise à notre petite table, encore plus médiocre que de coutume car notre cuisinière est malade très sérieusement, parce qu'il faut bien que la chose soit complète. Nous avons tant parlé de vous que les oreilles doivent vous faire un bruit terrible ou plutôt très doux, car c'était un chorus universel d'amitié et de bien justes louanges dans lequel Aglaé et Emile faisaient les principaux coryphées. Mme Virginie trouve que vous prolongez bien son veuvage. Je m'occupe aujourd'hui d'un appartement pour Mme de Vauréal; si je réussis, elle demeurera bien près de la Madeleine. Voilà ce que c'est que de me charger de commissions, je les fais à mon profit; j'aurai prévenu notre chère cousine qui plaide pour le Faubourg St-Germain. Au reste, rien n'est arrêté et ne le sera sans l'aveu de tout Vauréal.

Eh! bien, notre bon ami Ménéchet n'a pas été heureux avec son *Law*. J'en augurais mieux. J'avais trouvé beaucoup d'intérêt à la lecture de l'ouvrage. Je suis triste de ce non-succès, dont Mme Virginie a consolé l'auteur, en allant au théâtre et chez lui.

Une belle et grande chose c'est la musique de *Robert le diable*. Il y a plus de pensées et de sentiments dans ces notes que dans bien des vers et de la prose. Quand on a étudié cet art philosophiquement et qu'on est d'ailleurs organisé pour le sentir au fond, on est étonné de tout ce qu'on y trouve. Ce n'est pas seulement un chatouillement de l'oreille. L'oreille n'est que l'organe conducteur, par où passe l'idée musicale pour arriver à l'entendement et à la sensation intelligente. Il y a un style, une poésie, une conception profonde ou pittoresque dans la musique comme dans la littérature. Tous les arts disent la même chose dans une langue différente. Plume, pinceau, ciseau ou archet, qu'importe? Ils font tous le blocus du cœur humain par les *arrivages* des organes et des sens. Celui qui croit que la peinture n'est qu'un *flatte-regard*, et la musique un *charme-oreille*, prend le moyen pour la fin, la route pour le but, la saveur pour la nourriture. Le problème est de plaire aux sens et de nourrir l'esprit et l'âme au bout de ce plaisir passager. M. Meyerbeer l'a résolu dans son *Robert le diable*. Par malheur, *Scribe* et *Germain Delavigne*, qui ont fait l'opéra, ont été petits, musqués, gimnase enfin, quand il fallait être poètes, sévères et religieux. Je ne sais pourquoi cette digression métaphisico-ennuyeuse. C'est que je quitte M. Meyerbeer, et M. de Humbolt [sic] qui était chez lui, et avec qui j'ai passé une heure délicieuse touchant les arts, la morale, et les passions. Que d'esprit et de sensibilité dans ces deux Allemands! M. de Humbolt est étonnant d'éloquence et de savoir. Enfin, je reviens à vous pour ne pas changer d'interlocuteur, car vous êtes tout: l'ami et l'homme, le bon et le supérieur, l'âme et l'esprit, et il faut vous quitter aujourd'hui, mais pour vous revoir bientôt, n'est-ce pas?

Quant à la politique, je n'en fais point. Il n'y en a point, je crois. Il y a du chagrin,

de l'ennui, de la misère, de la sottise, de l'injustice, de l'impiété, et tout cela fait monter la route jusqu'à ce que tout tombe à la fois. Adieu le plus cher de tous.

Emile[5]

The following note is merely a kind of personal sequel to the above letter. It is addressed to Madame la Baronne de Croze, rue du Cherche-Midi, and is dated merely "lundi à 10 heures"; as it is not postmarked, it was undoubtedly delivered by a servant.[6]

Imaginez-vous, chère cousine, que M. Meyerbeer m'envoie une loge de 6 places pour ce soir, *Robert le diable*. Il craint à compter de mercredi une suspension dans les représentations à cause d'une indisposition, et il a cru bien faire de nous envoyer les billets aujourd'hui.

Il me semble que nous pourrions en profiter tous, car il y a de la place beaucoup [sic!] dans cette loge. Au surplus, nous ferions ce que madame votre mère voudra. Si on y allait, il faudrait dîner un peu plus tôt.

Nous serons de bonne heure chez vous. A vos ordres toujours.

Emile[7]

I quote now from a letter sent to Mme de Croze at the château de Chassaigne on April 30, 1836, in which Deschamps, after reporting on the health of the Lemerciers and the progress of the two Croze boys at the Collège Stanislas, has the following to say about himself:

Oui, chers amis, je travaille beaucoup, sans que cela paraisse. Je vous servirai pour le mois de novembre un grand opéra en 5 actes où j'ai mis tous mes soins. La musique de Niedermeyer (dont vous avez, je crois, entendu *le Lac* chez nous) me paraît charmante, et le spectacle pourra être neuf et beau, si on suit bien mes indica-

5. Aglaé was Mme Deschamps.—For Deschamps' relations with Meyerbeer, see Girard, *Emile Deschamps dilettante*, pp. 56–66. *Robert le diable* was first performed, with great success, in this year (1831); the libretto, which Deschamps criticizes severely, was written by Eugène Scribe and Germain Delavigne (brother of the better known Casimir). Deschamps was to revise part of Scribe's libretto for Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots* (1836) and Meyerbeer was to compose the music for some of Deschamps' "romances."—The M. de Humbolt mentioned here is either Karl Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835), an important philologist and esthetician, or his more famous younger brother, Alexander (1769–1859), naturalist and traveler, who lived in Paris from 1808 to 1829 and was frequently sent on diplomatic missions to the court of Louis-Philippe.—The concluding paragraph reflects Deschamps' disgust with the political situation only a year after the accession of Louis-Philippe and a prophecy of the overthrow of the régime, which, however, was not to occur for another seventeen years.

6. In a letter dated April 1, 1829, Deschamps congratulates his friend on his elevation to the rank of baron.—Mme de Croze's parents, M. and Mme Lemercier (he was a count and peer of France), lived at 17 rue du Cherche-Midi and the Crozes themselves seem to have kept an apartment at no. 15 of the same street. Many of Deschamps' letters were sent to one or the other of these two addresses in Paris.

7. The letters in this collection were arranged in separate piles by years, either by the dealer or by the member of the Croze family from whom he bought them. The above note is in the 1832 pile, though there is no way of determining that it was written in that year. The exact date of the note is, of course, of no importance.

tions. Au reste les peintres sont si contents du sujet et des situations et de mes idées pittoresques qu'ils viennent tous les jours me montrer leurs croquis, et qu'ils vont faire un voyage en Italie tout exprès pour plus de fidélité. Me voilà décorateur maintenant. Je vous assure que j'entends à merveille tout ce matériel; on dirait que je n'ai jamais fait d'autre métier—moi, le contraire du théâtre! Mais j'apprends pour vous plaire un peu; et puis, au bout de tout cela, peut-être un pauvre petit succès d'estime; car le grand succès dépend de choses si imprévues. Celui des *Huguenots* n'en finira pas de si tôt, et maintenant cette musique fait fureur et les acteurs demandent grâce. On les fait jouer le dimanche pour satisfaire l'appétit de tout le monde, et on renvoie des populations entières à chaque fois. Quant à moi, je vais encore me mêler de deux grands opéras et puis ce sera fini, car il m'en tombe de tous côtés et je mourrais à la peine ou au plaisir. Ce sont d'excellentes affaires, mais il y faut mettre un terme. J'ai deux beaux sujets inventés. Je les traiterai et puis je me retirerai dans mon cabinet et au milieu de mes amis. Il faut pour tout cela une activité que j'userais [?], et puis cela multiplie mes relations, très agréables sans doute, mais d'une manière effrayante et qui m'empêche d'en jouir. Merci de vos vœux, de vois conseils et de votre joie des succès qui me touchent un peu.[8]

The remainder of this letter contains allusions to Deschamps' literary activities at this time, and I quote a few relevant sentences:

Cela ne m'empêche pas de faire beaucoup de prose et de vers, mais je n'ai pas le temps de les recueillir et de les mettre en ordre.—Ah! dites-moi, puisque vous lisez avec bienveillance les quelques vers que je vous envoie, vous ai-je envoyé deux sonnets que j'ai faits à MM. Boulay-Paty et Goût-Desmartres en réponse à deux autres sonnets qu'ils m'avaient addressés, et cela sur les mêmes rimes, et pendant que le portier attendait la réponse? C'est une curiosité; je vous les enverrai, si vous ne les avez pas. En attendant, voici un petit tour de force. C'est d'avoir mis en vers tout de suite, une parabole charmante des *Martyrs*, et cela en conservant les tours et les expressions de Chateaubriand et *ligne* pour vers. Nous étions plusieurs poètes à faire ce joujou, et c'est moi qui ai gagné le prix. Je vous l'envoie. C'est une accolade tendrement amicale. Jules m'en dira son avis.[9]

Some fourteen months later, Deschamps again refers to *Stradella*. In a postscript to a letter of June 30, 1837, addressed to Mme de Croze at Chassaigne, he writes:

8. For Deschamps' relations with Louis Niedermeyer (1802–1861), see Girard, op. cit., pp. 67–75. The opera on which Deschamps was working at this time is *Stradella*, on the libretto of which he had the collaboration of Emilien Pacini and the score of which was composed by Niedermeyer. The latter had set Lamartine's "Le Lac" to a tune which had become popular, though Lamartine himself did not think much of it (see his "Commentaire" to this poem in Vol. II of the Grands Ecrivains Français edition of the *Méditations poétiques*, p. 467). *Stradella* was performed at the Académie Royale de Musique on Friday, December 3, 1836, and is included in the Lemerre *Œuvres complètes*, *Théâtre*, I, 356.—Deschamps had made some changes and additions in Scribe's libretto of Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots*, one of his most successful operas (see Girard). As for the "deux grands opéras" for which he was planning libretti, see a letter to François Grille quoted by Girard, p. 40.

9. Girard's bibliography lists four titles of prose items published by Deschamps in 1836. For the two sonnets to Boulay-Paty and Goût-Desmartres, see the Lemerre *Œuvres complètes*, *Poésie*, I, 128–29, and Girard, *Un Bourgeois dilettante*, pp. 161–62, n. 1. For the "parabole charmante des *Martyrs*," see *Poésie*, I, 71–72.

A propos je vous dirai que la reprise de *Stradella* vient d'être des plus brillantes, grâce à Duprez et à un nouvel air au 5e acte, où Niedermeyer et notre chanteur se sont surpassés. Aglaé elle-même a trouvé qu'il y avait *assez de monde.* Duprez a été redemandé les [?] deux fois après son air.—Je porte à Chassaigne plusieurs morceaux de *Stradella*, entr'autres le nouveau. Nous les chanterons pour rire.[10]

Wednesday, August 3, 1838, must have been relatively free of official or other personal duties for Deschamps for on that day he wrote Mme de Croze so long a letter that it fills close to ten pages of double-spaced typescript and that he himself refers to it, in a letter written eight days later, as a "lettre-monstre." As is so frequently the case in this correspondence, Deschamps takes it upon himself to report on virtually all of the relatives and close friends of the Crozes in Paris. Among these are the painters, Mme de Mirbel and Callande de Champmartin,[11] the latter of whom was at this time painting a portrait of the Comte Lemercier, father of Mme de Croze, and who was to be represented in the Salon of 1840 by a portrait of Emile Deschamps. There are also several references to Niedermeyer in this letter as well as to Deschamps' literary activities of the moment. It seems appropriate to quote at some length from this unusual document. First as to the portrait of M. Lemercier:

Nous l'emmenons (M. de Champmartin) demain, dimanche, passer la journée avec nous à Savigny.—Il est possible que Mme de La Sizeranne soit de la partie. Votre mère l'a invitée avec tant de grâce.—Enfin, elle serait heureuse d'être au milieu des vôtres et de parler de Chassaigne et de Savigny et de promettre encore à M. le Comte Lemercier une séance musicale pour la dernière séance de peinture.[12]

Deschamps then discourses loquaciously and amusedly on a trip which he took to Maisons-Lafitte to see Niedermeyer; the account includes a delightful study in contrasts on the subject of hotel accomodations which deserves to be quoted in full. Here it is:

Nous sommes allés à St-Germain par le chemin de fer. C'est charmant et si vite!—Et le soir, nous sommes allés au Tivoli du lieu (l'Ancien Pavillon Henri IV) sur la terrasse illuminée où l'on prend dans un jardin charmant des glaces, en voyant couler majestueusement la Seine, et arriver sur l'autre bord comme une tempête

10. For Duprez' success in the title role of *Stradella* and the new air in the fifth act, see Girard, *Emile Deschamps dilettante*, pp. 69 ff.—Emile and Aglaé Deschamps spent two very happy months of the summer of 1837 with the Crozes at Chassaigne.

11. For Mme de Mirbel, see Girard, *Un Bourgeois dilettante*, pp. 365–366, n. 3; for Champmartin, see Girard, *Emile Deschamps dilettante*, pp. 14–15. Mme de Mirbel was an intimate friend of the Crozes and there are allusions in Deschamps' letters, in which she is frequently mentioned, to portraits which she was making of Mme de Croze and her children.

12. The Lemerciers had a country home at Savigny-sur-Orge in the department of Seine-et-Oise at which Emile and Aglaé Deschamps frequently spent weekends.—For the very pleasant friendship that existed for many years between the Deschamps and M. and Mme Henri Monier de La Sizeranne, see Girard, *Un Bourgeois dilettante*, passim. Mme de La Sizeranne was, it would seem, a talented amateur pianist; Girard speaks (p. 386) of her "grand talent de musicienne."

tous les wagons de Paris, à travers le bois du Vésinet avec mille lanternes bleues et roses.—De là nous sommes allés coucher au meilleur hôtel de St-Germain, où nous avons eu des draps mouillés de punaises, des servantes sales et grossières, des chandelles coulantes et ballottantes, des cris, et de l'eau chaude pour la toilette dans un saladier. L'auberge française enfin! Le lendemain à 8 heures du matin nous avons pris le bateau à vapeur du Havre qui nous a conduits en 20 minutes à *Maisons-Lafitte*, où j'avais besoin de m'installer 36 heures avec M. Niedermeyer pour un grand travail. C'est une colonie charmante, bâtie dans l'immense parc de M. Lafitte qui a saccagé sa magnifique propriété pour donner des jardins à 150 villas. Mais son château est admirable et sa position divine. M. Niedermeyer est fort bien établi là, mais nous ne sommes pas descendus chez lui. Nous sommes allés demeurer à une auberge de ce petit village, auberge appelée *l'Hôtel Talma* et tenue par des Anglais. Imaginez-vous un charmant Castel Blanc au milieu d'un petit parc anglais, avec bassins, ponts, gazon, etc., et une vue superbe. On s'arrête à la grille. Le maître, qui a les meilleures manières, vient vous recevoir, avec des domestiques en noir ou en lie vin [sic]. On nous donne une chambre parquetée, cirée, élégante, et toutes les recherches de la propreté et de la commodité, avec deux grands cabinets et un salon pour lire et manger. Puis une femme de chambre à chapeau de paille pour Aglaé—et un couvert si propre, si brillant, et le soir tout en bougies, etc., et pas le moindre bruit dans l'auberge, j'allais dire: le château. Les domestiques riches (car on n'en voit pas d'autres) marchent avec des souliers de castor et les femmes de chambre, quand on les sonne, arrivent comme des oiseaux. Comment, me disais-je! nous sortons de St-Germain, une ville à sous-préfet! Les hôtels garnis le sont surtout de malpropreté, de vermine, et de serviteurs grossiers. Nous arrivons dans un village et nous y trouvons, que vous dirai-je: l'élégance et le goût de Chassaigne, dans une petite auberge. La *dame* du lieu me dit que c'est comme si nous étions dans le moindre bourg de l'Angleterre, et même, ajoute-t-elle, nous ne pouvons réunir ici tout ce qui [sic] présentent les auberges d'Angleterre, parce que la maison n'a pas été construite exprès. Ah! j'oubliais le thé et les syrops [sic] glacés, rafraîchissements de toutes sortes qu'on vous apporte le soir, dans votre appartement, ou dans le café, ou dans le billard, ou sur les petites tables sur les gazons du jardin.—Au surplus, l'Hôtel Talma était plein d'Anglais, et on n'entendait pas le moindre bruit.—Tant de belles choses s'achète [sic] par de l'ennui et une monotonie méthodique qui vous rend de plus en plus français!

There follow hurried mentions of a great many people and subjects, among them the poet Alexandre Soumet and his daughter Gabrielle, Jules de Rességuier's recently published volume of verse, *Les Prismes poétiques*, and that of Edouard Goût-Desmartres, *Fleurs de mai*, a visit to the cathedral of St-Denis, the handsome "maison de campagne" recently acquired by the poet Jules Lefèvre-Deumier "sur les bords de l'Oise près de la forêt magnifique de l'Isle-Adam," an encounter with Jules de St-Félix in the forest of Versailles and a visit to M. Lascazes (sic), the author of the famous *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène*.[13] Deschamps then returns to the subject of Niedermeyer and his own literary occupations:

13. For Deschamps' relations with Soumet, Mme Gabrielle Soumet d'Altenheim, Jules de Rességuier, Jules Lefèvre-Deumier, and Jules de St.-Félix, Girard, ibid., passim.—The author of the *Mémorial* was Emmanuel Las Cases (1766–1842).

Je finis, en ce moment, un grand album poétique et musical avec Niedermeyer. Je le soigne beaucoup et lui aussi: *le Comte* y sera et *le Brigand*, et puis j'entreprends un travail immense. C'est une traduction des plus belles poésies allemandes, pour la musique de Shubert [sic] qui a tant de vogue. On a toujours manqué cela. Ce sera une fois de plus. Et puis je viens de faire: vers et prose, deux grands articles dans ce qu'on appelle *la Galerie de Shakespeare*, ou vignettes de toutes les femmes de ses pièces, avec des notices françaises. Ce sera imprimé pour votre retour. Les gravures anglaises sont charmantes. Et puis mille choses encore, et je n'y ai ni le cœur ni la tête. Je travaille avec je ne sais quoi de moi.—Vous verrez, dans le número des *Jeunes personnes* de ce mois, une nouvelle de moi qu'on m'a demandé sur une gravure anglaise, ayant nom: Alix de Kerven. Vous me direz si j'ai tiré quelque parti de cette gravure. J'en fais encore une pour un Keepsake.[14]

One of the most interesting letters in the collection, from the point of view of Deschamps' musical interests bears neither address nor postmark; it was sent to Mme de Croze on what I make out, from a scrawl at the very end, to be August 1. A reference to *Loyse de Montfort*, a cantata with words by Deschamps and Pacini and music by François Bazin which was "couronnée" by the Institut on October 3, 1840, and performed at the Académie Royale de Musique four days later, another to "exemplaires" of a recently published volume of his verse (obviously the 1841 *Poésies*), and still another to Deschamps' collaboration with Donizetti on an album dedicated to Queen Victoria and Prince Albert and published by Meissonnier (Paris, 1842), make it practically certain that the letter was written in 1841. After the usual bits of information about common friends, Deschamps writes:

Nous avons eu—une petite soirée, musique et poésie, où l'on a chanté mon *Sombre Océan* sur lequel M. *Scudo*, un Vénitien de grand talent, vient de faire une très belle musique. On a aussi chanté, mais pas si merveilleusement que M. Tagliafico, mon *Brigand* et mon *Spectre*. Cette musique de Niedermeyer est vraiment très belle. Je serai bien heureux d'entendre M. Tagliafico, et c'est encore à vous que je devrai ce plaisir, comme si ce n'était pas assez de bonheur.[15]

14. Niedermeyer composed music for Deschamps' poem, "Que ne suis-je un comte" (see Girard's "Bibliographie musicale" to his *Emile Deschamps dilettante*, p. 122). Girard lists several musical albums to which Niedermeyer contributed airs on poems of Deschamps, but he does not list a musical setting for a poem entitled "Le Brigand"; no such poem is to be found in the Lemerre *Poésie.—40 mélodies choisies avec accompagnement de piano, par F. Schubert, traduction française par Emile Deschamps*, was published in 1851 (Paris, Brandus). "Alix de Kerven" was published in 1838 in *Le Journal des Jeunes Personnes*, to which Deschamps contributed regularly.

15. *Le Sombre Océan* is listed by Girard in the "Bibliographie musicale" to *Emile Deschamps dilettante* (item 82) as a "méditation, paroles de M. Emile Deschamps, musique de Scudo," Paris, Colombier, s.d.—The poem appears under this title in the 1841 *Poésies*, pp. 73–74, where it is dedicated "A M. Alphonse de Lamartine"; it was reprinted in the *Œuvres complètes, Poésie*, I, 73–74, under the title of "Marine."—Girard does not list musical settings by Niedermeyer to "Le Brigand" and "Le Spectre," nor are poems by these names to be found in the *O.C.*—M. Tagliafico may be Joseph-Dieudonné Tagliafico, born in Toulon of Italian parents in 1821, died at Nice in 1900. He made his début at the Théâtre des Italiens (now the Opéra-Comique) in 1844 and had a long and honorable career in nineteenth-century opera. If this

The letter continues:

L'Académie qui, par suite d'une intrigue risible, n'a plus voulu de mon poème pour faire au grand concours de cette année le pendant de *Loyse de Montfort*, a été servie au-delà de ses vœux. Elle avait été fâchée de la tournure [?] trop dramatique. Tout à l'heure on vient de donner le prix pour une scène [?] de M. de Pastoret. L'effet a été assez froid pour rassurer complètement. Ils ont voulu aussi la faire donner à l'Opéra. Nullité complète, chantée une seule fois sans succès. Sans doute, il était fâcheux qu'un étranger à l'Académie vînt en faire son *ouvrage*, mais il est aussi fâcheux que l'Académie le fasse médiocrement. Et pourtant M. de Pastoret est d'ailleurs un homme d'un rare et beau talent, comme d'un beau caractère; mais on n'est pas tout. Les jeunes concurrents étaient furieux, et j'ai eu mon ovation et ma visite *officielle* que je ne méritais que par *comparaison*. Me voilà presque à jamais brouillé avec l'Académie pour avoir été un peu cause l'année dernière du seul triomphe éclatant [?] du grand prix de musique. Sans compter les *envieux* sans nombre au théâtre, qui n'est pas plus sage que l'Académie. Tout cela m'amuse beaucoup, ou plutôt m'amuserait si j'avais le cœur à ces choses-là.[16]

Further on in the letter, there is an amusing incident involving Deschamps and Donizetti; Girard must have been completely unaware that the two men were acquainted since the composer's name appears only in the "Bibliographie musicale" mentioned above. Here is the paragraph:

Avant de partir pour le pays de M. Tagliafico, *Donizetti* que je ne connaissais pas, m'est venu demander des paroles pour un grand album musical qu'il dédie à la reine d'Angleterre. Il n'avait pas le temps ni moi non plus, et dans une soirée et une nuit nous avons tout composé. Il a une verve et une facilité qui m'en donnaient, et ce qu'il y avait de charmant c'était l'éditeur qui était là, car l'échéance était arrivée, et nous n'avions pas commencé! Nous avions l'air de corriger et de copier devant lui. Nous composions et nous donnions à mesure à la gravure. Enfin, cet éditeur a trouveé que nous mettions trop de conscience et de soin dans nos *corrections*. Il a été se coucher, et nous avons ri de grand cœur. Eh! bien, il y a des choses délicieuses dans cet album musicalement parlant.[17]

I should like to close this sampling of Deschamps' musical interests with the quotation of liberal portions of a letter written some six weeks before the one just cited and which reflects several entirely different facets of his very *sympathique* character. It is addressed to Madame la Baronne de Croze at the château de Chassaigne "près et par Paulhaguet" (Deschamps

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is the man to whom Deschamps refers, he was probably only a promising young singer at this time and was giving private performances; the Crozes had obviously heard him, but Deschamps had not.—I must add that this letter is particularly difficult to decipher.

16. Deschamps had obviously submitted a poem in the Académie *concours* of 1841 which was a pendant-piece of *Loyse de Montfort*. Girard makes no mention of this episode, and I have found no hint anywhere as to the title of the work in question—The M. de Pastoret who was awarded the prize may have been Amédée-David Pastoret (1791–1857), statesman and *littérateur*.

17. The Donizetti album is listed on p. 117 of Girard's "Bibliographie musicale."

had himself been helpful in obtaining the promotion in postal status of this town not far from Brioude and the appointment of a protégé of Jules de Croze to its postmastership) and is dated June 17, 1841. It opens with an anecdote typical of Deschamps' sense of humor and it closes with a sonnet which is one of his most successful serious compositions. The letter begins:

Mon cher Jules, j'ai reçu avant-hier—votre si aimable lettre qui s'est probablement croisée avec ma dernière annonçant la venue au monde d'un nouveau fils de M. Langlan. Je vous répète que Clotilde, à l'heure du dîner et au moment de monter en voiture pour aller faire ses couches chez elle, a été prise des douleurs et nous a pondu son œuf au nez. C'est une marque de confiance à laquelle nous avons été sensibles comme nous le devions; mais la marmite était renversée et nous n'avons dîné que je ne sais quand, ce qui m'a fait dire à Aglaé: Ma chère amie, *nous n'avons plus qu'à croquer le marmot.* Le plus joli de tout cela, c'est que ce jaloux, ce terrible M. Langlan a pris pour parrain qui? Azarie! Le militaire ne s'attendait pas à tant d'honneur, nous a-t-il dit, rouge d'orgueil; et c'est lui qui a porté l'enfant en nourrice dans ses bras de grenadier français! Il a fallu tout cela pour nous égayer, au milieu de ces contretemps. Enfin l'accouchée et le poupon vont à merveille, et Clotilde nous disait hier: Est-ce heureux que j'aille si bien; je pourrai faire des beignets à M. Gustave et à M. Charles! Vous nous direz, n'est-ce pas? le jour et l'heure de l'arrivée de vos grands enfants, pour que nous envoyions à la diligence ou que du moins nous soyons sous les armes à les attendre. Mais vous nous parlez de 3 jours! Nous espérons bien allonger notre joie; vite, vite, arrivez, chers enfants et ne vous en allez pas![18]

After references to M. de Lourdoueix, editor of *La Gazette de France* (his name occurs frequently in the correspondence), to Alphonse Karr's satirical periodical, *Les Guêpes*, to the poet Alexandre Guiraud and his wife, and to Mme Alix de La Sizeranne, Deschamps continues:

Je donnerai à vos enfants mes poésies et celles de mon frère—nouveau tirage plus régulier et plus complet. La première édition vient d'être emportée, sans qu'Aglaé ait son exemplaire. Il y avait beaucoup de fautes. Je veux paraître en meilleur état aux yeux de mes amis, quoiqu'en vérité on n'ose pas offrir une telle misère—15.000 vers—pour 3,50, avec des gravures en acier! Il faut en vendre 10.000 exemplaires pour se retirer. Mon libraire donc se ruinera.

Mme Isaure et toute la Place Vendôme nous chargent de leurs vœux et tendresses. Pour Mme Isaure, elle est venue un soir nous voir; elle a trouvé là des personnes qui aiment la musique et la sienne surtout. Elle a chanté longtemps et pas assez. Puis, le goût lui en a pris, et elle a eu la bonté de nous demander de lui arranger une soirée ou plutôt une nuit, ce que nous avons fait avant-hier. Elle avait de nombreux auditeurs, choisis pour elle et presque par elle, et quelques talents dignes à peu près de la seconder et des vers et des poètes à foison, et elle a été charmante et d'une

18. Clotilde was the cook of the Deschamps and the wife of a M. Langlan. Azarie was a former Deschamps manservant who had become a soldier. Gustave and Charles were the young sons of the Crozes who were to visit the Deschamps in July.—It will be recalled that Rostand uses the pun, "croquer le marmot," in the fourth act of *Cyrano de Bergerac*.

complaisance divine. On s'est quitté à deux hèures et demie du matin après un petit souper ou elle n'a rien pris; et elle m'écrit ce matin—que, depuis bien des années, elle n'avait pas eu de si bonne soirée. Je crois bien, elle l'a faite. M. de Vergennes a été ce qu'il y a de plus aimable et de plus empressé, tournant la page, choisissant, conseillant la musique, et jouissant du triomphe de sa femme. Il est venu nous en remercier et nous promettre d'autres soirées.[19]

Finally, a few sentences from the remainder of the letter:

Et voilà les séances académiques qui se *succèdent*, ce qui ne veut pas dire *succès*! Et les académiciens qui meurent comme des mouches! Et le *Freischütz* de Weber à l'Opéra, bien grande et belle chose. Je suis ravi qu'Emilien Pacini ait arrangé cet opéra pour notre scène. C'est un titre.

Je remettrai à vos enfants *les Gerbes de poésie* de Goût-Desmartres. Il y a là un beau talent. Guiraud et Jules Lefèvre nous ont dit des vers superbes. Je vous dirai que mes vers: "Un Page à la châtelaine" pour la fête de Virginie et qui figurent dans mon volume, font beaucoup d'effet. On me les demande toujours. Merci, chère Virginie. J'aime que ce qui est le moins faible dans mes vers soit inspiré par vous. Je ne résiste pas à la petite gloriole de vous citer en un nouveau sonnet de mon recueil aussi, que plusieurs journaux ont cité. Vous en approuverez au moins le sentiment, j'espère.

Il existe un magnifique sonnet du *Tasse* en réponse à des vers de *Camoëns*. Dans cette correspondance poétique, pas une plainte de ces malheureux grands hommes, pas un soupir, pas un reproche aux hommes ni à la destinée. Ils ne parlent que de gloire et de triomphe! Cela m'a inspiré ceci: [Deschamps then cites verbatim his sonnet on Tasso and Camoëns published in the 1841 *Poésies*, p. 233, under the title of "Autre (sonnet), à M. Alexandre Cosnard," and reprinted in Lemerre under the title of "A quelques poètes" as one of a group of "Quatre sonnets" (*Poésie*, I, 74–76), where the seventh line is slightly changed].[20]

19. A brother of Mme de Croze, Louis Lemercier, lived in the Place Vendôme, as did many of the ultra-fashionable friends of the Crozes and the Deschamps.—Mme Isaure de Vergennes would seem to have been an amateur singer of considerable talent, and her salon was frequented by poets and artists. She was a niece of Mme Boscary de Villeplaine who, according to Girard (*Un Bourgeois dilettante*, p. 366, n. 1) was "très liée avec Emile Deschamps"; in her "salon de la Place Vendôme se rencontraient le faubourg Saint-Germain et la noblesse de la finance." (See also L. Séché, *Le Cénacle de la Muse Française*, pp. 57–58, footnote.) A poem by Deschamps, "Le plus beau des concerts" (*Poésie*, I, 80–82), inscribed to Mme Boscary de Villeplaine, is a rhapsodic account of a concert given at her home, at which Liszt, "le merveilleux enfant," enthralled the guests with his improvisations at the piano and Isaure (de Vergennes) with the purity of her voice.

20. Weber's *Der Freischütz*, with the original libretto translated into French by Emilien Pacini, was performed at the Opéra on June 7, 1841. Pacini collaborated with Deschamps on the texts of *Stradella*, *La Rédemption*, and *Cordélia* (see Girard, *Emile Deschamps dilettante*, pp. 41–42).—Edouard Goût-Desmartres' verse-collection, *Les Gerbes de poésie*, was published in Paris in this same year (1841).—Deschamps' "Un Page à la châtelaine" was published in the 1841 *Poésies*, pp. 155–159, and reprinted in the Lemerre *Poésie*, II, 36–39, under the title of "Un Nid, à Madame Marie (Virginie—)," and dated Château de Chassaigne, 183–. It was probably written during, or was one of the results of, the extended visit which the Deschamps paid the Crozes at Chassaigne in the summer of 1837.—I can find no allusion to Mme de Croze in any sonnet printed in either the 1841 or the Lemerre *Poésie*.—I might

The seven letters quoted in this brief study were written in the decade from 1831 to 1841, when Deschamps was devoting much of his leisure time to the preparation of texts for musical settings by composers who were the favorites of the *dilettanti* of the day. Among these, as we have seen, were Meyerbeer and Donizetti, and Niedermeyer who had his moment of fame; curiously enough, there is not a single mention, in the letters to the Crozes, of Berlioz, whose *Roméo et Juliette*, a "symphonie dramatique avec chœurs et solos de chant, paroles d'Emile Deschamps" (Girard, "Bibliographie musicale," page 116), was successfully performed in 1839. It is possible to explain this omission by the assumption that the music of Berlioz was too revolutionary for the Crozes and their Place Vendôme relatives and friends.[21] If this assumption is correct, we have, in the matter of Deschamps' musical preferences, yet another example of the rare catholicity of his personal and artistic tastes. For it is a striking fact that in Deschamps' large circle of literary associates there was room for ultra-conservatives of the first Romantic decades such as the two Alexandres, Soumet and Guiraud, and the three Jules, Rességuier, Lefèvre-Deumier, and Saint-Félix, for the giants of the era, Lamartine, Vigny, and Hugo, and even (in the last years of his long life) for Parnassians and future leaders of the Symbolists—Leconte de Lisle, Banville, Catulle Mendès, Armand Silvestre, François Coppée, Baudelaire, Verlaine, and Mallarmé. And the cosmopolitanism of the poet of *Etudes françaises et étrangères* is further demonstrated by his relations, adumbrated in this paper, with the German Meyerbeer, the Swiss Niedermeyer, and the Italian Donizetti.

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add, at this point, that there are other mentions of "soirées de musique et de poésie" and of musical experiences of various kinds in the letters to the Crozes; these, however, would be mere repetitions of the material here presented.

21. It might be pointed out here that Jules Croze, when Deschamps first made his acquaintance, was "sous-préfet" at Corbeil in the Seine-et-Oise, not far from Paris, that he was named a baron in March 1829, and that he was promoted to the prefectorate of the Basses-Alpes in April of the following year. As a rock-ribbed Legitimist, he beat a hasty retreat from public life after the July Revolution and divided his time thenceforth, as a private citizen, between his château de Chassaigne and his Paris apartment.

MALRAUX AND TRAGEDY: THE STRUCTURE OF *LA CONDITION HUMAINE*

By Bert M-P. Leefmans

La Condition humaine is not a very long novel, but it is a very full one. In it a large number of characters, a good many of them of major importance, are involved in a great many events and actions of a number of different kinds. And yet, despite this profusion of matter and of energy, for it is a novel of violence, it ultimately gives an undeniable impression of clarity and order. If the obvious question as to how it does so leads to a no less obvious answer, which has to do with form, it is not the purpose here to consider the relation of the artist to the form of his work of art. A larger study than this one might undertake to clarify this question, which is a major one, in relation to this book. But here the focus will be upon the text itself, for it is one which may be considerably clarified by analysis of its structure and of the relation between its structure and its action. Whether Malraux's success in the case of *La Condition humaine* derives from his skill in making what turns out to be a very formal novel so immediately convincing that its form is hidden within its action, or whether it is simply so good a book that a certain form essentially appropriate to its content became somehow inevitable, need not matter here.

Quite early in one's experience with this novel, it becomes clear that its action falls into two major phases. As it begins, with preparations for the uprising in Shanghai, the virtue which informs all of its activity is hope. As the revolt begins, and its initial successes become major ones, hope is no longer uppermost. The difficulties attendant upon maintenance of a now improved position become significant and the dependence of those who could win their immediate battles in Shanghai upon those in Hankow whose actions they cannot control becomes more apparent. As yet there have been no real reverses, but forewarnings of disaster become more frequent and more impressive. Next, in the central fourth part of the book, there comes a brief period of stalemate, filled with violence. It begins with hope frustrated by an absurdity as Tchen is prevented from assassinating Chiang by a shopkeeper who is trying to accomplish something quite unrelated. It ends with hope gone as Tchen, throwing his bomb this time, but at Chiang's empty car, blows himself to bits. The remainder of the book, the second major phase, is precisely as violent as the first, but what informs its action is no longer hope. It is despair. Although as the end approaches, in the same way that doom had been foreshadowed amid the hope of the earlier phase, so here there are intimations of hope arising out of the destruction of its past results.

If this outline is vague and general, the text permits a considerably more

precise description of the progress which clarifies the novel's action. This simplest of patterns, that of rise and fall, is accompanied, as it often is, by a more special one which implies greater perception and a deeper understanding of events. It is the pattern which in all tragedy, perhaps, relates to the discovery of value in destruction, provided destruction is understood and used as man can occasionally understand and use it. It is the presence of this pattern in it which perhaps as much as anything else may seem to relate Malraux's novel to drama of a kind whose substance and tone are both very evidently similar to those of *La Condition humaine.*

The book has seven numbered parts, the central one being concerned with the tense equilibrium described above. As the novel begins, Part I deals with preparations for the uprising, Part II with its first successes, while Part III, in the course of which little actually happens, looks back over what has gone before and considers what is apparently to come. Preparation, action, recapitulation. Part IV is filled with action but there are no results. It adds to the intimations of doom but in it the descent does not quite begin. It is a kind of static point in the progress of the book, lacking in kinetic but taut with potential energy. Ascent and descent coexist in it and the remnants of the earlier rise by contrast make more vivid the fall which is to come. Tchen's bomb finally does go off, and then the second major phase can start.

Except that the movement is now downward, toward destruction, the last three parts follow the same pattern as the first three. Once again the movement is from preparation to action to recapitulation. Or in terms of the rhythm which Kenneth Burke finds in classic tragedy, "from Purpose, to Passion, to Perception."[1] And if one considers the action of the novel as a whole in the light of hope, the same broad rhythm is repeated also there. The first major phase, itself moving in this rhythm in its three parts, is the "Purpose" component of the whole book, while the last phase makes clear the "Perception." The central section, Part IV, where appropriately "Passion" accomplishes none of its own ends, makes possible the enlightenment which is the end—as in both senses it is of tragedy—of this novel.

More than this tragic rhythm, important as it is, shapes the structure of the book, however, and the analogy between the first and last three-part sections of it results from much more detail than is represented by the repetition of that broad rhythm. With rather more care than in *Les Conquérants,* Malraux uses time, and somewhat secondarily place, to provide the framework within which to construct his narrative. With one exception his chapter headings indicate time, and in the instances where place is not given it is known from what has gone before. If the time scheme of the novel is objectified, if one draws a picture which gives proper value to the elapsed time of the chapters of the book, and to the intervals between them, one

1. In this connection see particularly Francis Fergusson, "*Oedipus Rex*: The Tragic Rhythm of Action," *The Idea of a Theatre* (Princeton, 1949).

finds what one would probably expect. The picture of the first major section, which first presents the tragic rhythm, is identical with the picture of the last, which repeats it. With this difference, that the characteristics of the first picture are somewhat emphasized in the second. One thing that happens within each section is that the passage of time becomes, in general, slower and slower. In the same way, its movement in the final section is an image of its movement in the first, but so slowed down that as the book ends it comes nearly to a stop—in the only chapter for which no time is given.

There are three related factors in the book which also vary in a similar fashion. As time can be made to move fast rather than slowly, so attention and concern can be directed to an immediately present, small area. This, as one would expect, tends to happen when there is violent action going on. A murder in one's presence leaves one with little attention to spare for other places or larger matters. At the other extreme, there are times when the location of what is going on makes little difference. This is when what is taking place is something other than action, something which tends to lift the reader's mind out of the particular locale into a larger and less specific area. As it is natural for time to move fast when there is violent action, slowly when there is little or none, one finds again what one would expect to find and the time scheme turns out to be a mirror of the pattern of the book as it appears also in terms of place, of action, and of the immediacy or universality of the significance of what at any given moment is taking place.

The extreme examples of this, in a book which proceeds from the most intense, enclosed and lonely violence to detached and experienced contemplation of the most general, are found at its beginning and its end. The tale begins in a dark hotel room in Shanghai where the introverted Tchen, in the middle of the night, under great emotional stress, commits a murder. It ends in Kobe, of all places unrelated to the action, where there is no action, but where questions of the most universal significance are discussed, in bright daylight, in the light of what has gone before. In the former the reader is made aware almost exclusively of the immediate surroundings and the immediate action. That action takes place in almost no time at all, according to the "horaire" of the novel, although for the reader as for Tchen it becomes a long ordeal in terms of subjective time. In the later scene, at Kobe, time and its passage have become almost completely unimportant. The highest concentration in the novel has finally, as it ends, given way to the greatest diffusion.

The transition, however, is not a direct one. Just as the tragic rhythm is repeated in the first three and the last three parts in what are smaller images of its operation in the novel as a whole, so in each of these two major sections the movement away from unity in time, place, action and significance is repeated also, with remarkable similarity in the two sections. Part V

begins with scenes which are comparable to those which begin Part I. The scene at Kobe is comparable on all the aforementioned counts to the second part of the scene at Hankow which ends Part III. Apart from the central and, in the sense of the repeated rhythm, separate fourth part, there are only two places in the book where time is moving so fast as to cause successive chapters to overlap in time. This occurs at the beginning of each of the major three-part phases. And as each phase proceeds, time becomes more and more stretched out, the area involved becomes larger, the intensity of the action decreases, and concern moves from the particular to the more general.

Having once been led to approach the analogous sections to each other and compare them, one observes that in addition to these similarities, and also as a result of them, there are similarities in the nature of the action, in the kind of thing occurring at corresponding points in the two sections. The partly simultaneous scenes which begin Part I, concerned with "Purpose," correspond in a number of ways to the also partly simultaneous scenes which begin Part V. The scenes of repose and the battle scenes of the two sections occupy corresponding positions. Throughout, this sort of parallelism is maintained in detail.

Once this becomes apparent, it ceases to be only possible and becomes necessary to bring these sections together, for their juxtaposition, once its validity as an operation has been established, results in considerable clarification of the book's internal meanings. Much of this addition to the significance of its action derives from contrasts which are imbedded in similarity. Such things as different reactions in situations which are analogues, both in the pattern and in general, become revealing, when placed side by side. An early instance of this involves the initial scenes of the two phases. The rising, the creative, nature of the first phase is suggested when the motives behind Tchen's crime are made clear. His action contrasts violently with the first action of the final one. Tchen's murder was destruction for a purpose and it is followed by preparations and action of a very positive sort. Clappique's gambling, on the contrary, although his placing of a bet becomes as much an act of violence as Tchen's placing of a knife had been, is the ultimate symbol in the book of destructive purposelessness, and his procedure after the game-room closes is monumentally uncreative.[2]

As the two phases proceed to "Passion," the initial scenes are followed in each instance by the relatively static and portentous ones which immediately precede the two battle scenes of the book. In each case the latter involve attacks upon strongpoints which are doomed and fall. As would be expected, in the earlier scene the strongpoint is captured, in the later

2. It would have been considerably more so had the chapter Malraux excluded at this point been left in the book. In addition to a possible overemphasis upon Clappique, however, any addition here would have disturbed the balance between sections. For this chapter see "Un Chapitre inédit de *La Condition humaine*," *Marianne*, 13 décembre 1933.

it is lost. After these come what are perhaps the most important scenes of the two major phases, at least in so far as the book is taken to be tragic. They are those in which the isolation of man is most directly considered and they prepare the way most significantly for the contrast which will later appear between the final chapters of the two sections, one of which concludes the book.

At the climax of the earlier of them it is the rugged individual, Ferral, who succeeds in achieving a no more than momentary communion with another individual: in the phase of the novel when the hopes of the masses are in the ascendant, the egoist fails. In the later instance, when these hopes are being destroyed, Katow, as nearly a classic hero as there is in the book, likewise achieves a communion which, if also only momentary, is significantly different.

It is necessary to recall at this point that in the earlier of these scenes Valérie has gone to sleep and Ferral is watching her and considering himself. Her function at that moment is to remind him that he is, like her, "Un être humain . . . une vie individuelle, isolée, unique." Having attained his momentary mastery in the preceding scene—for the light by the bed had been turned back on—he is once again alone. And the light, which had enabled him to have his satisfaction and an odd kind of communion by watching her reaction during intercourse, is precisely the thing which insures his not seeing her again after that night. As in the paradox which is a subject of the work as a whole, the thing which makes communion possible is the thing which insures its subsequent destruction.

In the later scene where Katow awaits execution, the basic concern is again human isolation. The scene provides an extraordinarily moving demonstration of the realizing of the hope which is somehow the concern of all tragedy, that "un homme [peut] être plus fort que cette solitude," than the solitude which precedes the mass execution in which all are included. It reaches its peak in Katow's exultant victory over his captors when they demand to know where two of his companions had obtained the poison which had enabled them to escape their executioners by suicide. Whether or not one feels justified in equating the turning off and on of the light beside Ferral's bed with the loss and recovery of the phial of cyanide, it is difficult to avoid noting the analogy between Katow's experience and Ferral's—and therefore also the differences between them—partly at least because they occupy corresponding positions in the many ways repeated rhythmic pattern.

Ferral, insisting upon the light—he must see since he cannot feel—achieves a satisfaction perhaps perverted, in any case as self-centered as can be. Katow, the poison again being found, finds his satisfaction in the ability to provide an escape for his friends, who personally were strangers to him. This permits him to be, moreover, in a way familiar in tragic drama, stronger than what is happening to him. One can go too far with this sort

of thing, but if, as is often the case, light and life are equal, while poison certainly means death, one may sense the presence here of the paradox about saving one's life and losing it which, though it means many things in many contexts, is apparently essential to writers of tragedy. It is essential because it always carries with it the suspicion, made certain by the tragic mode, that the idea is more important than the man who dies for it—and becomes so because he does. In any case, if the paradox is here, it makes the necessary distinction between Katow and Ferral with singular adequacy.

If Katow, with his gesture of the poison, with his ritual of communion, has achieved a union with man, he, like Ferral, finds himself alone. If he is accompanied by the anguish of the companions who remain behind, and this at least is something he has won, he nevertheless goes to his death as every man must go. His exultation of the spirit—or of "le cœur viril des hommes . . . qui vaut bien l'esprit" and which may after all be a synonym for it—and Ferral's physical triumph in his embrace with Valérie, are the two aspects of a dichotomy which here separates, less the spirit from the body, than the egoist from the lover of humanity. Love, in Malraux as in Dante, is what makes the world go round. If the fates of Ferral and Katow are alike, thus providing a necessary setting for tragedy, it is Katow's concern with something other than himself which insures his stature. Over and over again, the way in which saints and heroes are alike appear.

The temporary victory and the ultimate failure in each case ends a phase in which time has gradually come nearly to a stop, in which the location and the concern have become man's position in the universe, and the action of the drama, for the moment at least, has given way to sleep and death. What follows we may recall, but in each case what follows looks back over what has passed and considers what is to come. Purpose has been destroyed in passion and what follows makes more explicit the nature of the perception. From the lonely room in which a murder was committed, the first phase has moved past Ferral's scene with Valérie and then on, following the longest lapse of time in the course of it, to a Hankow which represents all China and all communism. It is here that the paradox underlying man's political fate becomes clear as Kyo learns that the men of good will in Shanghai are to be sacrificed to the brutal impersonality of the revolution. In the second phase, movement is from a stuffy gaming room to Paris, where the concern is international, and worldly, and thence to Kobe where the concern is cosmic. Again the time lapses have become longer as the phase progressed. The Paris chapter, after a schedule which has slipped from minutes to hours to days, in each phase, is labelled simply "Paris, juillet." The final chapter heading, for the first time, gives no indication of time at all. From the text one learns that it is Spring but this is significant not in relation to the passage of time, but in so far as Spring has meaning as the time when things start anew. Time has stopped, but it will

start again. The concerns which had earlier become general at Hankow, after returning to the particular in the second phase, have become cosmic at Kobe—where a Japanese painter, we have learned, paints his soul.

Malraux's constant control, his success in making analogy and irony arise out of structure to support the irony which his material necessitates and which is created by the substance of his book, both of these are major factors in the impression of clarity and the awareness of power with which the reader is left upon completion of this novel. His greatest technical success, however, may derive from his ability to limit his work to a quite rigidly maintained pattern which is as rigidly kept out of sight by its apparently inevitable relation to the matter with which it is filled out. Or perhaps it is simply that if a work of art is at once true enough to its subject and good enough, such patterns and such correspondences arise of themselves from some inescapable combination of matter, thought and language.

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REVIEWS

Young La Fontaine. By Philip A. Wadsworth. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1952. Pp. ix + 236.

This study deals with the intellectual and literary history of the French fabulist from his early childhood until 1668, when the first volume of *Fables choisies* was brought out. There is little here that is new; but we have, in fairly compact form, a sort of *état présent,* a gathering of "all the facts, and hints, and guesses" (page viii) connected with La Fontaine's artistic production of this period. As a scholar, Professor Wadsworth is extremely sound; he has obviously studied practically everything related to his subject; he is indeed a reliable guide. When it is remembered that the best La Fontaine scholarship is widely scattered among hard-to-find articles in periodicals, and out-of-print books published in several European countries, it will be difficult to overestimate the usefulness of this work to the American student and scholar.

That much having been said, one must, unfortunately, confess to a definite feeling of disappointment. This feeling goes far beyond that created by such details as the uninspiring typography and the physical presentation of the book, the few misprints that should have been corrected (pages 143, 155, 189), occasional inconsistencies, and the misleading statement that the numbering of La Fontaine's tales and fables "is standardized in all modern editions" (the owner of the *Pléiade* edition will look in vain for *Daphnis et Alcimadure* under XII, 24 as suggested (page 77); he will find it instead in the "Appendice aux fables"). Part of the disappointment is certainly a consequence of the title: at the end of March, 1668 La Fontaine was completing his forty-seventh year and was no longer "young" in the conventional usage of the world. What Professor Wadsworth means can, of course, be sensed and, eventually, in the last four lines of his Conclusion, he expresses it very clearly; but nowhere else in the book is there much evidence of the "springlike freshness" (page 220) of La Fontaine's poetry and personality: there is a discrepancy between title and content.

A second discrepancy, not unrelated to the first, is even more serious. In the Preface it is stated that "this essay . . . seeks to trace the development of La Fontaine's literary art" (page vi), that the author has sought to "reconstruct and describe . . . the acquisition and growth of the faculties which made him [La Fontaine] a great poet," and "to survey his development as an artist" (page vii). Professor Wadsworth, however, does not actually accomplish all that: what he does is to describe the evolution of La Fontaine's artistic ideas and techniques, and show the correlation between this evolution and the sources from which he borrowed—and in doing so he displays good sense, discrimination, and judgment. What may be wrong is that Professor Wadsworth's esthetic sensitivity is not quite

attuned to the high pitch of La Fontaine's delicate art and "native subtlety" (page v), of which, incidentally, he disposes in a rather highhanded manner in his Preface. Perhaps only a poet (whatever his nationality) who was also a scholar could deal satisfactorily with these matters. The closest Professor Wadsworth comes to hitting the mark is when he compares "Les Rieurs du Beau-Richard" and "Le Savetier" (pages 135–139), two versions of the same incident; even so, all the emphasis is on La Fontaine's art as a storyteller, practically none on his art as a poet. A quotation from another chapter will reveal the type of detail the author is inclined to stress at the expense of more essential considerations: "This tendency to repeat himself, or rather, to economize on effort and prevent good lines from being lost, is one of his [La Fontaine's] most permanent characteristics as a writer" (page 116).

Professor Wadsworth hopes his study will be read not only by students and professors but also by business men (page viii). This ambition has led him to intersperse in his text a number of metaphors that tend to have a disconcerting effect (page 192, for instance: "He not only mingled many fruits to brew a delicious cocktail of his own, . . ."). Nevertheless, this reviewer would like to stress that most of the adverse critical remarks he has felt obliged to make deal with matters of emphasis, nuance, and taste: they were prompted by the author's aspirations but should not detract from the obvious professional value of the book.

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Racine: *Œuvres complètes.* Editées par Raymond Picard avec, pour le texte du théâtre, la collaboration de R. Groos et E. Pilon. 2 vols. (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade) Paris: Gallimard, 1951–1952. Pp. 1213 + 1152.

La monumentale édition des œuvres complètes de Racine publiées par Paul Mesnard dans la Collection des Grands Ecrivains a été pendant près de quatre-vingts ans l'indispensable instrument de travail de tout racinisant. Depuis 1873, date à laquelle la publication en fut terminée, savants et critiques, historiens et philologues, acteurs, journalistes, professeurs, metteurs en scène et dénicheurs de manuscrits de tous pays ont, grâce à l'appui solide des huit gros volumes de Mesnard, apporté tant de contributions nouvelles aux études raciniennes et tant de textes inédits, qu'il était devenu urgent de disposer, pour la bonne poursuite des travaux sur Racine, d'une nouvelle édition tenant compte de ces trois-quarts de siècle d'efforts et d'enthousiasme racinien. C'est là le nouvel instrument que M. Raymond Picard a courageusement entrepris de mettre à notre disposition. Tous les amis de Racine lui en seront reconnaissants.

Les efforts de rénovation de M. Picard ont porté sur trois points essentiels: le classement des œuvres, le texte, le commentaire. Distinguant six

groupes de textes, la nouvelle édition offre le classement suivant: (1) théâtre; (2) poésies; (3) écrits se rapportant à Port-Royal; (4) travaux officiels (historiques et académiques); (5) correspondance; (6) traductions, extraits, commentaires et annotations. Ne chicanons pas M. Picard sur les principes de son classement, puisqu'aussi bien aucun classement ne saurait être entièrement satisfaisant: on pourrait, par exemple, s'étonner de trouver dans la quatrième section, en tête de l'œuvre historique de Racine, ses extraits et annotations des traités historiques de Lucien et Denys d'Halicarnasse (II, 197–207), alors que l'avertissement promettait qu'on trouverait dans la sixième section "tous les écrits de Racine—extraits ou annotations—marquant une réaction devant une œuvre, qu'elle soit grecque, latine ou française" (I, 9).

Les œuvres même de Racine sont sans conteste ce qui compte le plus à nos yeux; M. Picard a donc consacré, avec un courage et une intégrité dignes d'éloges, les plus grands efforts pour parvenir à nous en donner un texte aussi exact et aussi complet que possible. Sa nouvelle édition contient un assez grand nombre de textes que Mesnard n'avait pas connus et qui furent publiés entre 1890 et 1950 par des érudits comme Busson, Griselle, Henriet, Herluison, Knight, Latreille, Orcibal, Plan, Sprietsma, etc., dans diverses revues d'un accès plus ou moins facile (*RHL*, *MdF*, *MLN*, *Revue de Lille*, *Revue Critique des Idées et des Livres*, *Renaissance de l'Art Français*, *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, etc.). Ces additions complètent l'édition Mesnard non seulement pour les annotations et extraits de Racine (Bible, I, 972; Lucien, II, 201–203; Denys d'Halicarnasse, II, 204–207; Sophocle, II, 866; Ménandre, comiques et moralistes grecs, II, 906–918; Cicéron, II, 978–980), mais aussi pour ses écrits historiques (II, 282–284, 290, 303–304), et même pour sa correspondance (II, 463, 466, etc.). Le plus intéressant de ces nouveaux textes est sans doute celui des extraits des fameuses *Questions d'Aulnay* de Huet (II, 703–705), publié pour la première fois par M. Henri Busson dans *la Nef* en 1950, et qui nous montre l'auteur d'*Athalie* réagissant devant la lecture d'un traité de religions comparées qui, tout en étant de la plume d'un évêque, préfigure clairement l'exégèse rationaliste des XVIIIe et XIXe siècles.

Grâce à un travail infatigable de collation et de vérification, M. Picard a eu le grand mérite de découvrir et de corriger un nombre assez considérable d'erreurs qui s'étaient glissées dans l'édition Mesnard et qui s'étaient perpétuées de par son autorité même. Certaines corrections faites d'après les lettres autographes de Racine (II, 570 et 642) sont particulièrement significatives. Quant au texte du théâtre, il est collationné sur l'édition de 1697, les diverses variantes étant rejetées en note. Là encore M. Picard a réussi à corriger plus de trente fois le texte de l'édition Mesnard. Les fautes de cette ancienne édition changeaient quelquefois notablement le sens des vers (*Andromaque*, vv. 945 et 1596; *Phèdre*, vv. 952 et 1388; etc.); certaines mutilaient à l'occasion les alexandrins de Racine au point d'en

faire des vers de onze syllabes (*Mithridate*, vv. 268 et 1622) ou de treize (*Bajazet*, v. 1003).

Enfin M. Picard publie pour la première fois au moins deux inédits intéressants. L'un se limite à neuf mots écrits par Racine, comme c'était son habitude, dans les marges d'un de ses livres (II, 993). C'est bien peu, mais comme il s'agit en l'occurence d'un exemplaire, conservé au British Museum, de *La Secchia rapita* de Tassoni, c'est l'unique exemple que nous ayons des réactions de Racine lecteur devant ces poètes italiens qu'il goûta si fort, comme on le sait, notamment durant son séjour à Uzès. L'autre inédit consiste en d'assez nombreuses annotations en marge d'une édition des lettres de Cicéron *Ad familiares* conservée à la Bibliothèque de Toulouse (II, 976–978). On connaissait déjà quatre exemplaires de Cicéron annotés par Racine. La découverte de ce cinquième volume met l'orateur romain à la première place parmi les auteurs anciens annotés par Racine. Assurément ses annotations de Sophocle couvrent un nombre de pages bien plus considérable quoiqu'elles ne proviennent que de quatre volumes annotés, mais le rapprochement Racine-Cicéron est certes moins attendu et plus curieux que le rapprochement Racine-Sophocle sur lequel tant de lycéens français ont été invités à disserter. Peut-être mériterait-il un jour une étude.

Si l'on songe que, depuis la publication de l'édition Mesnard, ont paru les études sur Racine de Lemaître, de Masson-Forestier, de G. Truc, de Fubini, de Vossler, de Mauriac, de Giraudoux, de Thierry Maulnier, etc., on comprendra sans peine que la conception que nous nous formons couramment de Racine aujourd'hui est totalement différente de celle que pouvaient se former de lui des contemporains de l'édition Mesnard comme Taine, Deschanel, Brunetière ou Larroumet. C'est bien pourquoi M. Picard, pensant que son édition devait dans une certaine mesure refléter le mouvement de la critique racinienne de notre époque, a cru bon de combiner à ses devoirs d'éditeur les obligations d'un guide et d'un interprète. Chaque série de textes et, en particulier, chaque pièce de théâtre est en conséquence précédée d'une "présentation" à la fois documentaire et explicative. De la même manière, les notes qui, conformément aux habitudes de la Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, sont rejetées à la fin du livre, sont consacrées soit aux variantes, soit à des éclaircissements historiques, soit enfin à des essais d'interprétation soulignant les données psychologiques et esthétiques des œuvres. C'est donc tous les éléments d'une véritable étude sur la poétique ou, comme il le dit, sur la "rhétorique" de Racine que M. Picard a voulu nous donner. Il s'explique à ce sujet dans son avertissement: "Il s'agit de poser en fait que la création artistique n'est pas un pur caprice; le poète doit utiliser un matériau qui a des propriétés données et qui lui résiste: le langage; et son œuvre est déterminée par des lois, règles et conventions dont certaines sont communes à toute la littérature, d'autres propres au genre considéré, d'autres enfin particulières à l'auteur lui-même.

Ainsi se définit toute une technique qui est explicative de l'œuvre et qui, souvent, doit pouvoir rendre compte de l'effet produit sur l'amateur. En ce sens—compte tenu des indications historiques indispensables—le commentaire que l'on trouvera ici est surtout d'ordre esthétique ou *poétique*" (I, 11–12). Ce commentaire est nécessairement dispersé tout au long de ces deux volumes compacts, et il perd à cette dispersion l'allure systématique et quasi-scientifique que M. Picard aurait voulu lui donner. Tout en se défendant de "donner dans l'*impressionnisme*" (I, 11), M. Picard ne se prive pas de nous laisser entendre, par exemple, que *Britannicus* est sa tragédie préférée ou encore "qu'*Esther* illustre de façon inespérée le genre ingrat de la *pièce pour patronage*" (I, 826). Ne dépasse-t-il pas, ce faisant, ses fonctions d'éditeur? Nombre de lecteurs trouveront sans doute que le ton de ce commentaire est quelquefois trop personnel. Nous ne partageons pas entièrement cette opinion. Les vues ingénieuses et perspicaces que M. Picard présente au cours de ce commentaire nous font espérer au contraire que les travaux ultérieurs qu'il ne manquera pas de consacrer à Racine lui fourniront une occasion plus propice encore de contribuer de manière personnelle et significative à la critique racinienne de notre temps.

La typographie de cette édition est particulièrement soignée et les fautes d'impression y sont probablement des plus rares.[1] On regrette que les vers des pièces de théâtre n'aient pas pu être numérotés (en raison peut-être de l'étroitesse des marges); on regrette surtout qu'un index, semblable à celui de l'édition Mesnard, ne vienne pas au secours du chercheur. A son défaut des tables des matières très détaillées sont fournies.

La présence au début du premier volume (pages 23–120) des *Mémoires* de Louis Racine sur son père, les tableaux généalogiques des familles Arnauld (II, 1004), Racine (II, 1062), Sconin (II, 1063) et Vitart (II, 1064), la "chronologie sommaire de l'œuvre de Racine" (I, 15–18), la "note sur le portrait de Racine" (II, 1137–1138) et la bibliographie sommaire (II, 1139–1141) contribuent à faire de ces deux riches volumes, non seulement une vulgate, mais une véritable somme racinienne, un admirable instrument de travail qui promet d'être aussi indispensable et aussi fécond que les huit volumes de l'édition Mesnard.

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Voltaire's Notebooks. Edited in large part for the first time by Theodore Besterman. 2 vols. Les Délices, Genève: Institut et Musée Voltaire, 1952. Pp. ix + 240; 241–506.

André Morize was one of the first to realize the extent to which Voltaire relied on his notebooks, especially in the composition of his histories and "Dictionaries." When the notes were not actually incorporated in published

1. Signalons cependant (I, 883) à deux reprises *Joad* là où il faut évidemment lire *Joas*.

texts, they had at least served as a mnemonic device and were echoed in such improvisations as *Candide*, which Voltaire wrote far away from his library. The notebooks explain how he was able, late in life, to quote from Horace, Ariosto or Dryden. Fernand Caussy planned in 1914 a seven-volume publication of unedited Voltaire materials, chiefly from the Leningrad and Saint-Fargeau collections. The war ended the project abruptly after the first volume. Mr. Besterman has given us in his two volumes the most notable contribution since Caussy.

The Introduction, revealing the results of his long search for Voltaire manuscripts, gives a thorough account of the vicissitudes of the notebooks here published or collected for the first time. The small Leningrad English Notebook has seen two editions.[1] The longer Leningrad notebooks (Voltaire, MS V) have been thrice edited under Wagnière's title of *Sottisier*, but very imperfectly and incompletely.[2] This Leningrad material forms almost exactly half of Mr. Besterman's texts. The Piccini notebooks appeared in 1802 in a little volume which was neglected by subsequent editors, even the usually competent Beuchot, and is now very difficult to find. Selections found their devious way, with reservations as to authenticity, into the Moland edition. Mr. Besterman's researches and discoveries remove all doubt of the genuineness of these notes. From internal evidence, I had long suspected as much. For example, it seemed clear that the remark: "Beaux vers de Suzanne de Suze en mourant: 'Grand dieu, je t'apporte quatre choses qui ne sont pas dans toi; le néant, la misère, les fautes, et le repentir' " (Besterman, pages 365–366; cf. Moland, XXXI, 125), was transmuted into the final verses of the Lisbon poem:

> Un calife autrefois, à son heure dernière,
> Au Dieu qu'il adorait dit pour toute prière:
> "Je t'apporte, ô seul roi, seul être illimité,
> Tout ce que tu n'as pas dans ton immensité,
> Les défauts, les regrets, les maux, et l'ignorance."
> Mais il pouvait encore ajouter l'*espérance*.[3]

This example shows the interest of these notes often jotted down at random; but Voltaire will also often abandon his source to compose his own observations of the moment. In the midst of the "pillaging," there often appears a brilliant Voltairean reflection worthy of his most polished works. The Piccini notes are especially rich in this respect.

Concerning Mr. Besterman's transcript, I can speak with authority only of the *Sottisier* text. There I have had a special advantage, since I examined

1. For this text, Mr. Besterman was forced to rely on my transcript taken in Leningrad in 1927 and published in *MP*, XXVI (1929), 307–325, no photocopies being available.

2. Jouaust; Classiques Garnier; Moland.

3. For Voltaire's reluctant addition of this final line, see the article by G. R. Havens in *MLN*, XLIV (1929), 489–492.

the original notebooks in Leningrad, and later made a transcript of my own (in the nineteen-thirties) from the rotographs which the Modern Language Association was able to obtain and a microfilm copy made for my use. Mr. Besterman's photographic reproductions were imperfect. Words, sometimes whole lines, were clipped off. I deeply regret that I could not check and send my transcript to him in time for his publication, since I believe I could have given him about a hundred better readings. Many of them, I have to confess, concern the bawdy poems,[4] in French and in English. Others, especially those of proper names, are important enough to list here briefly, with page and line references:

95–15	I believe that Voltaire, following Dangeau's *Mémoires*, since published, meant to write "Garibaldi."
99–3	Supply: Orford Russell.
103–19	Read: d'Ussé.
175–27	Read: L'autre empêche qu'il ne vienne. (The poem continues for four lines without break, "Caumartin" being written in the margin.)
179–12	Read: Mais on y voit les traces de Simon.
245–7	Read: Histoire d'Henri 4 de la raie bleue. . . .
247–7	Read: Le curé d'etrepigny [Jean Meslier].
253–14	Read: Trissin.
254–4	Read: 1441 [?].
255–26	Read: Vanini, de bayle, lettres persanes. . . .
289–12	Read: L'histoire de Pantaire [Panther].
300–20	Read: Fromentain en 1580.
304–n.4	Voltaire obviously meant *pouls*.

Mr. Besterman discusses Caussy's contradictory remarks concerning the number of *cahiers* that make up the bound Leningrad manuscript volume. My notes taken in Leningrad indicate that there were originally four notebooks: (1) foll. 1–43, 54–80 (foll. 44–45, 52–53 form a unit of inserted pages; foll. 46–51 are also inserted, and carry Latin passages of possibly a much earlier date). (2) foll. 81–103 (dates from 1735; "extrait de Maillet" not in Voltaire's hand). (3) foll. 105–116 (foll. 104, 117 make up an irregular full leaf, serving as binding). (4) foll. 118–133 (sixteen leaves, originally eighteen, as binding string shows; the final leaf, 133, has 1750 date). The four original notebooks seem therefore to be in chronological order.

With remarkable thoroughness again, Mr. Besterman lists in his Introduction the many references he has found, chiefly in booksellers' announcements, of missing or fragmented notebooks. It is also recognized that many

4. Voltaire copied bawdy poems, but did not compose any. Even *La Pucelle*, in comparison with these notebook poems, shows the moderation and taste which the late regretted Raymond Naves so successfully described.

of the bound manuscript volumes at Leningrad other than the one entitled *Sottisier* are just as truly notebooks. Fernand Caussy, in his one volume (three were planned for this and similar material) of Voltaire, *Œuvres inédites* (Champion, 1914) devotes 180 pages to the historical material, chiefly from MS VIII, as against some 80 pages from the Papiers Voltaire at the Paris Municipal Library. I still hope to publish a number of English passages from the Leningrad volumes, a small contribution in proportion to the wealth of material contained therein.

Mr. Besterman's energy and initiative are deserving of the highest praise. These notebooks are of great value to every Voltaire scholar and can be read with pleasure by all to whom the spirit of Voltaire is not repugnant. If Mr. Besterman worked here under handicap, the same cannot be said of the first three handsome volumes of his *Voltaire's Correspondence*, which will be reviewed at a later date. They are proof of the solidity of the editor's scholarship and the forecast of the greatest tribute paid, since Beuchot, Desnoiresterres, and Bengesco, to the patriarch of French letters.

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Two Diderot Studies: Ethics and Esthetics. By Lester G. Crocker. (The Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages) Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1952. Pp. ix + 129.

In these two studies, Mr. Crocker has attempted to deal with the problems in Diderot's thought as "problems in philosophy." He has set himself not simply the historian's task of stating Diderot's ideas, but the philosopher's task of appraising their intrinsic significance. Accordingly, although Mr. Crocker presents Diderot's moral philosophy in the more or less usual way, as a life-long dialectical experiment with a variety of positions, he also does something more than this: he attempts to offer a philosophical commentary, and to present Diderot's struggle for a clear and coherent point of view, not simply in terms of Diderot's own problems, but in terms of the alleged logical implications of certain perennial philosophic positions. Mr. Crocker interprets Diderot's thought as a conflict between what Mr. Crocker believes are the incompatible implications of "humanism" and "materialism." And while he recognizes that Diderot's materialistic and hedonistic ethics was a contribution of brilliance and originality, he reserves his highest praise for Diderot's final, though not completely articulated, synthesis, with its humanistic emphasis on man's unique and elevated place in nature.

Mr. Crocker's treatment of Diderot's esthetics is similar. Once again, he sees Diderot's mind as the meeting ground for incompatible views. Diderot, Mr. Crocker reminds us, emphasized the imitative aspect of art, but he gave equal emphasis to its expressive function, and some attention

to its imaginative aspect as well. As Mr. Crocker sees it, this is a sign that Diderot held three different, and mutually incompatible, philosophies of art. He has apparently not considered the alternative that Diderot may have held a many-sided view of art, and that here, as elsewhere, he refused to hold a theory which would reduce a subject-matter to some single, ultimate element. Mr. Crocker's interest in Diderot's esthetics revolves around the question of Diderot's contribution to the much-vexed philosophical controversy between "subjective" and "objective" conceptions of beauty. He finds both positions in Diderot, and here he does seem to grant that Diderot, at least implicitly, may have held a position which pulls these two extremes together—what Mr. Crocker calls a "modified subjective" view. But since Mr. Crocker himself holds an "objective" view, he finds this not much of a contribution, and concludes that Diderot held no definite esthetic philosophy, but had only a wealth of ideas, some original and stimulating, others quite unoriginal.

That it is difficult to extract a single theory on any subject out of Diderot's works is, of course, well-known, but Mr. Crocker has no doubt succeeded in showing in somewhat finer lines the nature of some of the contradictions and dilemmas which beset Diderot. But he has, it seems to me, also succeeded in obscuring the special quality of this most dialectical of minds. The excitement of Diderot is the excitement of exploration and intellectual experiment. He had a mind bemused by the possibilities of things; and so he shunned systems, or anything else that served to fix or limit things, and was more interested in questions than in answers. This may perhaps make him an unsatisfactory philosopher, particularly if it is bad philosophy to believe that there is more in the world than can be encompassed in any single system. But it helps make him a rather attractive mind, and one cannot help but feel that Mr. Crocker's impatience with Diderot is not Diderot's fault, but Mr. Crocker's, who has asked some irrelevant questions of him.

Indeed, the over-all presumptions of Mr. Crocker's two studies seem questionable to me. Mr. Crocker is as much, if not more, interested in the philosophic problems with which Diderot deals as he is in Diderot's treatment of them. This is, of course, perfectly proper, and it is, in fact, something of a relief from that sort of impassive study in the history of ideas to which we have become accustomed, in which the writer seems completely unconcerned with the truth or falsity of his subject's views. Nevertheless, Mr. Crocker has a tendency to make hasty or ill-informed judgments which vitiates his purpose. For example, according to Mr. Crocker, Kant attempted "to transcend the truth and value of scientific materialism, within its proper sphere, by resorting to philosophic idealism." But, even allowing for the ambiguities of the word "materialism" as Mr. Crocker and others use it, Kant's effort was not to transcend science within its proper sphere, but to fix its proper sphere and show its complete validity within it. To

take a more crucial example, Mr. Crocker asserts repeatedly that "materialism" is incompatible with "humanism". But would this not depend on what conception of matter the alleged materialist entertains? And is such a wholesale charge the best way to get at the subtle, detailed discussion of materialism in *Le Rêve de d'Alembert*? Mr. Crocker also seems to believe that no materialistic or purely scientific philosophy can consistently hold a belief in free will. He is, of course, perfectly free to hold such a belief. But it suggests only dogmatism or a sketchy knowledge of philosophy to assert this belief as though it were the generally accepted view of contemporary philosophers. If Mr. Crocker is going to get into this kind of controversy, he ought at least to mention Hume and John Stuart Mill, whose views on this issue are not yet regarded as completely exploded.

Mr. Crocker's essays, it seems to me, are not quite satisfactory either as philosophy or as studies in the history of ideas. They are unsatisfactory as philosophy because they never argue their convictions through, but merely announce certain conclusions, impose them on Diderot, and find Diderot at fault where he disagrees. And they are unsatisfactory as history because the particular context and motivations of Diderot's writings are systematically skimped, and their line of argument distorted, by Mr. Crocker's assumption that, where he sees a contradiction or a problem, Diderot did as well, or, at any rate, ought to have done so.

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Juste Olivier: *Paris en 1830: Journal*. Publié par André Delattre et Marc Denkinger. Préface de Fernand Baldensperger. Paris: Mercure de France, 1951. Pp. xvi + 313

Juste Olivier arrived in Paris in April, 1830. The twenty-two-year-old poet (and future novelist, dramatist, historian, teacher and editor of the *Revue Suisse*) had just been appointed professor of history and literature at Neuchâtel, and had come to Paris, according to his grandson, Dr. Jean Olivier, "pour s'y développer dans les milieux littéraires et universitaires." By the time he left, at the beginning of August, he had witnessed some of the most exciting literary and political events of his times, come into contact with dozens of literary and academic celebrities, seen practically all of the plays produced in Paris between April and August, and made arrangements to have his *Poèmes suisses* published (Paris: Delaunay, 1830). He relates all this and more in the journal which he faithfully composed every evening, and which Professors Denkinger and Delattre have made available to us in an attractive and carefully but unobtrusively annotated edition.

Olivier's journal makes lively reading, for he was a curious and careful observer and an attentive listener who, in addition, possessed a fine narrative and descriptive talent. During his stay in Paris he frequented the salon

of Alfred de Vigny, where he enjoyed his host's aristocratic charm and warm hospitality, noted his slight pretentiousness, saw Planche, Dittmer, Antony and Emile Deschamps, Sainte-Beuve, and Musset, among others. His account of their discussions of Lamartine, Hugo, Mérimée, of poetry, painting, sculpture, romanticism, the Academy, is exciting as well as enlightening. He had long private conversations with Dubois, Hugo, Sainte-Beuve, and Fauriel, met Raynouard, Magnin, and Abel Rémusat, attended meetings of the Saint-Simonians, and heard lectures by Cuvier, Guizot, Daunou, Villemain, Cousin, and Andrieux. Indeed, before his departure he met or saw, talked with or about, practically every important man of letters in Paris. (Balzac is never mentioned, however, nor is Stendhal.) Of these, Sainte-Beuve is treated with the greatest respect, admiration, and affection. The picture that we get of the man who was eventually to become Olivier's secret Paris correspondent for the *Revue Suisse* is unusually well drawn in a gallery of excellent portraits.

The climax of Olivier's visit to Paris was the July Revolution, during the greater part of which he prudently remained in his room, watching the sporadic fighting, the movements of troops and crowds, getting reports on developments from friends, and writing down everything that he could. So objective is his reporting that no one would suspect, from his reaction to the slaughter of the King's Swiss guards, that he was himself Swiss. This is, as a matter of fact, an aspect of the one disappointing quality of the journal: not enough of the personality of Juste Olivier emerges from its pages. We are told by Dr. Jean Olivier in the Introduction that what was "trop personnel ou trop intime" in the journal has been omitted, though the reason for this seemingly unnecessary discretion is not given. That material might have given the personality of Olivier the flesh and color that it lacks almost altogether, and perhaps given the document a greater importance than it now has.

CARL A. VIGGIANI

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"La Terre" d'Émile Zola: Etude historique et critique. Par Guy Robert. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1952. Pp. 490.

Emile Zola: Principes et caractères généraux de son œuvre. Par Guy Robert. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1952. Pp. 208.

The fiftieth anniversary of Zola's death was celebrated by an extraordinarily interesting exhibition of Zola manuscripts and mementos at the Bibliothèque Nationale, and by numerous publications devoted to the novelist's career and work. Among the latter, the two books by Professor Robert are of the greatest importance. Before 1952 much had been written about Zola, but his literary work had not received the attention from accurate scholars that it richly deserved. Professor Robert has begun to fill that lacuna.

His first volume on *La Terre*, a model of scholarly thoroughness, supersedes completely Le Blond's *La Publication de "La Terre"* (Malfère, 1937). It situates the novel not merely in Zola's literary development, but also in the series of nineteenth-century novels dealing with the French peasant and French agricultural life. It traces the composition of the work from the moment when Zola put pen to paper, through the note-taking process, the utilization of sources (oral, ocular, and written), the development of the *Ebauche*, the detailed chapter plans, the actual redaction of the manuscript, and the correction of proof. It examines with care Zola's presentation of the peasants he chose to create. It discusses with precision and insight the dramatic structure of the novel, its epic procedures, its mythical concepts. It narrates the reception that *La Terre* received in 1887 and since. In a powerfully written conclusion Professor Robert establishes the ultimate symbolic significance of the work: "C'est la terre surtout qui offre les vastes successions de la vie et de la mort; elle enseigne que les fumiers nourrissent les moissons, que le même élan de fécondité traverse tous les êtres; et les hommes reçoivent d'elle encore la leçon de sa tranquille pérennité."

One question, however, has been avoided. Did Zola, as so many people have claimed, slander the French peasant? As a literary historian Professor Robert doubtless felt that he did not need to answer that question. For who is the French peasant? There are thousands of them. Who can say with certainty whether Zola's peasants are thoroughly representative? Yet while this may be true, the present reviewer cannot help thinking that though there is much truth in *La Terre*, the accumulation of the ignoble is excessive. For him it casts some doubt on the authenticity of the picture.

Professor Robert's second book, *Emile Zola: Principes et caractères généraux de son œuvre*, is a stimulating analysis and discussion of Zola's work, based on a wide and accurate scholarship. One of its most valuable chapters is that devoted to Zola's method of composition. H. Massis and F. Doucet had already treated the subject. Professor Robert's account is superior. His intimate knowledge of Zola's work-sheets has enabled him to show that the creative process in Zola was little hampered by his documentation. He makes clear that what Zola himself called the *affabulation* of his novel was an essentially original and creative phenomenon. Perhaps the most controversial section of this book is the chapter devoted to the mythical aspect of the *Rougon-Macquart*. Professor Robert maintains that more and more Zola was dominated—perhaps unconsciously—by the notions of Catastrophe and Death on the one hand, by Fecundity, Hope, and Life on the other. This is to say that pessimism and optimism swayed the novelist first in one direction and then another. We agree that the suggested antithetical themes exist. We also agree that optimism, hope, fecundity, and life are triumphant in Zola's work. But do their opposites

play quite such an important rôle as Professor Robert suggests? Take, for example, *Germinal*. The catastrophes there related seem primarily structural and without philosophical import, whereas the compassion and hope that fill the volume are the essential, meaningful themes.

Men may legimately differ over this or that interpretation of the *Rougon-Macquart*. But all will agree, I am sure, that these two books are a notable contribution to Zola scholarship and to our knowledge of nineteenth-century literature. They should be found in every college library.[1]

ELLIOTT M. GRANT

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Albert Thibaudet et la critique créatrice. Par Alfred Glauser. Paris: Boivin et Cie, 1952. Pp. 296.

In view of the untruth of Sainte-Beuve's remark that in every critic is a *poète mort jeune* and of Baudelaire's contention that poets are the best critics, it would have been surprising if Albert Thibaudet had not had some poet in him. As a matter of fact, his friends of the *N.R.F.* did acclaim him as a poet, at least after his death, and an edition of his poetic miscellany, *Le Berger de Bellone*, is now in preparation for the Editions de la N.R.F.[2] What is new in Dr. Glauser's study is his demonstration of the extent to which the poet in Thibaudet influenced the critic when Thibaudet was writing criticism.

Two preliminary chapters reveal a Thibaudet who felt an inner need to express himself in poetry. Or, rather, two Thibaudets: one the familiar Burgundian wine-bibber, the robust epicurean ostensibly at home in the world; the other a hesitant man aware of his own interior aridity, timid when confronted by life, deficient in a certain "goût dangereux de l'humain," suffering from a "mal intérieur." Such was the personality of a critic unwilling to dissect, reluctant to come to conclusions, and persuaded —with the help of Bergson—that the whole of literature is a flowing, growing organism.

Once this fundamental picture is set up, Dr. Glauser adopts a stylistic method. He first attacks Thibaudet's more overtly poetical works, beginning with the *Cygne Rouge* (which, he says, never comes to life because its author is too intelligent) and *Sept poésies philibertines* (no greater success). He has not seen the detail of *Le Berger de Bellone*, but from the fragments published in the *N.R.F.*, and from Jean Paulhan's commentary, he argues that nothing in the *Berger* will upset his thesis. "Son malheur de

1. A few small errors have been noted. Clorinde Balbi is mistakenly called Bailbi in both books. In the second book, read: "Glais-Bizoin," p. 30; "le Catholicisme" and "le cardinal" (both on p. 142); read: "*Gil Blas* du 16 janvier 1882," p. 189, n. 20. *La Curée* was published in book form in 1872 (not 1871), and *Le Ventre de Paris* in 1873, p. 203.

2. Cf. Colin Duckworth, "Albert Thibaudet and the *Berger de Bellone*," *FS*, VII (January, 1953), 18-34.

poète [he quotes Thibaudet himself on Richepin] fut d'avoir fait des études." Thibaudet was too much the lucid critic to be at ease writing straight poetry, according to Dr. Glauser, and was much more at home in his travel books, like *L'Acropole*, where his critical instincts were less in conflict with his poetic ones. Yet even in the latter books the poet in Thibaudet was somewhat inhibited, and, as Dr. Glauser concludes after an extended chapter on the diverse writings which he classifies as "Portraits, Souvenirs, et Dialogues," only in his criticism itself did the critic ever become a truly great poet. Dr. Glauser reveals how, when Thibaudet is at his best, poet and critic collaborate in feeling as well as comprehending the poem under examination, and how the collaboration is revealed in the upheavals of Thibaudet's own style. He ends by placing Thibaudet on an eminence otherwise occupied only by Sainte-Beuve.

Dr. Glauser might have been well advised to find a title which did not encroach on Croce. "Creative Criticism" has long been used to designate the kind of empathetic criticism Croce advocated in Italy, and that Joel E. Spingarn made famous in the United States; using the expression with a slight Bergsonian twist, as Dr. Glauser does, may cause some confusion. But since nothing after the title page suggests the least Crocean orientation, only those will be seriously confused by the title who do not read beyond it.

More disturbing, on the whole, is the analysis in the preliminary chapters, which tends to make criticism a therapeusis for the psychical disabilities of the critic. Such analyses are difficult to substantiate at best, and they can lead straight to the sesquicentenarian clichés about Blaspheming the Bright Lyrist. They are not to be encouraged even when, as in the case of the present book, they are conducted with considerable skill.

Dr. Glauser is at his best in his examination of the style itself. He is patiently attentive to the vocabulary, imagery, and syntax of work after work. His remarks are invariably interesting and, most of the time, convincingly supported. Now and then he even achieves a bit of poetry of his own: "Voici une phrase dont les derniers mots, courts, arrêtés brusquement et suspendus dans l'air, comme s'ils avaient été lancés dans l'espace par les grands morceaux de phrases denses qui les précedent, indiquent à nos sens éveillés. . . ." In a less thorough book, such flights, brief though they are, might leave the reader feeling that he is being coerced into accepting subjective and arbitrary judgments. Dr. Glauser's merely prove that even in the academic scholar the *poète mort jeune* sometimes refuses to stay dead.

This book commends itself to all serious students of recent literature, including those who do not feel that Thibaudet was a particularly great poet or, for that matter, a particularly great critic either.

W. M. Frohock

Wesleyan University

André Malraux and the Tragic Imagination. By W. M. Frohock. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1952. Pp. xvi + 176.

This is a remarkably good book: it is, along with Hytier's *André Gide*, one of the two masterly studies devoted, in any language, to a contemporary French writer in his lifetime. It was slowly and lovingly matured by a critic who ransacked all the sources of available information, weighed and sifted his learning, never exaggerated the value of his minor discoveries, and retained an intelligent perspective. Mr. Frohock is familiar with the methods and devices dear to recent criticism; he has pondered Henry James and Lubbock, learned how to woo difficult works with the grave and patient approach which will force them to render up the secrets of their structure, their symbols and their stylistic form. But he has known also how to eschew dogmatism and pedantry and how to accept an unorthodox novelist on his own terms, entering his own world and sharing his own vision. He is subtle, but never to the point of conceit or complacency with his own subtlety; he is, above all, penetrating, lucid, fair. Jean Paulhan recently declared in a *Petite préface à toute critique* that "critique est l'un des noms de l'attention." Mr. Frohock is fervently, discriminatingly attentive.

His title denotes the line of force of his study of Malraux and the consistent ambition of a novelist obsessed by the tragic. Alone or almost alone among the important novelists of France in our age, Malraux has not been tempted by the stage; it is doubtful indeed whether, in spite of his gifts for peremptory dialogue and for a direct presentation of violent action akin to melodrama, Malraux could succeed on the stage. But, as forcibly as any novelist since Balzac and Dostoevski, Malraux tried to capture the tragic from the drama and to make it the very essence of his fiction. "Il faut savoir prendre le tragique où il est," he wrote in June 1929, commenting on Keyserling's travel-diary and announcing even then, one year after *Les Conquérants*, that the dramatic conception of philosophy would result in a profound transformation of fiction. Mr. Frohock has not chosen to write the chapter expected, and perhaps necessary, on the tragedy of the intellect which Malraux found, or recognized, among the predecessors with whom his affinities are manifest. An essay on Malraux and his vision of Nietzsche should some day be attempted, and one on Malraux and Dostoevski. Stendhal, and not only the novelist of energy as Taine had caricatured him, but also the technician who "le premier, vit dans la mise en ordre des faits le plus puissant moyen d'expression du romancier" (as wrote Malraux reviewing a volume of Ilya Ehrenburg in 1935 and advising Soviet writers to learn the lesson of Stendhal) meant much to Malraux, in a subtle way. And Malraux's own claim that he is to be assigned to the tradition of Corneille and of Pascal (in his 1945 interview for *Fontaine*, reprinted in *Horizon* in October, 1945) should be heeded. The first two chapters in the present book, voluntarily restricted to the facts of Malraux's career, as

disentangled from the myth fostered or tolerated by Malraux, and to his early writings, lack a certain density which an intellectual biography of the author and an elucidation of his spiritual affinities might have afforded. Still those chapters are precise, informing, extremely sagacious. They point to the existence of almost all the themes or obsessions of Malraux in his early essay on *La Tentation de l'Occident.*

Mr. Frohock is at his best in his study of Malraux's novels. He brings in no ponderous apparatus, he avoids dissecting murderously or paraphrasing lengthily. He is not blind to the inadequacies of his author as a writer of fiction. The characters tend to be types rather than convincing individuals; the minor ones often do not stand in bold enough relief. A small number of tricks are perhaps abused, for example the police records which reveal the crowded past of those adventurers who fled from Europe to revolutionary China. But the critic interprets the intent of the author better than the author, who offers few concessions to the sluggish reader. His analysis of *The Conquerors* and of Garine as a tragic hero is the best yet attempted of that novel. In *The Royal Way,* the one nonpolitical novel by Malraux and the one which perhaps suffers from a lack of metaphysical anguish, Mr. Frohock, while a little severe in his appreciation, has discerningly pointed to symbols which betray Malraux's fascination with the slimy and oozy nature of the jungle and with hideous insects.

The central and the best chapter of the book, "The Power and the Glory," deals brilliantly with *Man's Fate.* No critic had yet thus brought to light the structure of that novel. Mr. Frohock, while never indulging in indiscriminate praise, may perhaps err in assuming, as subtle and hyper-rational minds often do, that every section of the book is placed where it should be, that the closing pages on Ferral in Paris and on Kyo's widow, May, are necessary or felicitous as an anti-climax. Some of the finest dialogues of Gisors, like many of the imperious conversations in *Man's Hope,* detract from credibility. "Oh, give me the novel! Let me hear what the novel says. As for the novelist, he is usually a dribbling liar." Thus exclaimed D. H. Lawrence in a short piece, "The Novel." The novel also should not mean, but be, and its meaning, in Malraux, may well be too explicit.

Mr. Frohock, who has spent much ingenious coquetry, with happy results, in devising titles for his chapters, devotes the following sections of his book to "The Will to Prove" and "The Age of the Fundamental." Malraux wrestled with ideas and almost, though not quite, with propaganda in his following novels, *Days of Wrath* and *Man's Hope.* He remarked, in December, 1935, that Gide and all modern writers who wielded a moral influence were "justifiers." It is a perilous task, however. There is a rigidity in the tension of *Days of Wrath* and a peremptory number of *non sequiturs* in the celebrated Preface, which spoil the fine features of the book, very penetratingly analyzed by Mr. Frohock. A few magnificent scenes, a human warmth hitherto seldom encountered in Malraux, an almost Olym-

pian comprehensiveness, and yet a personal agony, experienced and conveyed by the author, torn between the fervor of the apocalypse and the dire necessity to organize the apocalypse, redeem all the deficiencies purposely accumulated by a hurried writer in *Man's Hope*. Malraux was sincere if mistaken when, as reported in *The New Republic* on November 16, 1938, he declared that *Man's Hope* was his best book.

"The Age of the Fundamental," the chapter on *Les Noyers de l'Altenburg*, is one of the most original in the book. Mr. Frohock wisely brings out the significance of that novel, encumbered with ideas, which opens the road to Malraux's meditations and writings on art and on the continuity of man. Once more, his perspicacious interpretation of the symbols in the book leads him to elucidate, contrary to many a superficial reviewer, the true message of the volume. The walnuts of Alsace lead the protagonist to challenge Spengler and other prophets of despair, who deny man's continuity and treat cultures as closed cycles seldom intercommunicating. The role of the "shaman" in the novel, subtly, perhaps oversubtly elaborated upon by Mr. Frohock, is henceforth that of Malraux; he has withdrawn from the bustle of the world to return (after his disappointment with Communism) determined to communicate to others the revelation or the central experience with which he has been favored: the possibility to found a cultural order on man if, or since, God is indeed dead. The artist, and any culture, conquers his or its style through imitation, utilization, annexation of what had come before. Nothing is totally useless. The absurd is vanquished. The artist, who is a tragic hero in his own right, imposes order upon chaos, spurns or transforms man's fate.

Malraux's writings on art cannot as yet be fully appraised. It is to be hoped that Mr. Frohock will some day elucidate them further, as they can only be understood in connection with Malraux's earlier fictional works. Some questions linger in the mind of Malraux's reader which the critic's approach, centering on the novels as novels, led him to answer only fragmentarily: Malraux and his vision of Asia, his myth of the Revolution, the relations between his novels and the cinema, above all probably the tantalizing problem of eroticism, often touched upon by Malraux and never satisfactorily posed, not even in his preface to the French translation of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* which, as Malraux wrote to the reviewer recently, originally included several pages not yet published. But the author of this book deserves to be congratulated. There is nothing facile, banal, or superfluous in his volume. Every page is precise, meaningful, suggestive. His tone is not Malraux's, not enough perhaps. But there is pungency, subtlety, delicacy and art in his style, there is humor and admiration, restrained and lucid affection for his hero in his pages. This is a worthy addition to the best American scholarship in the field of French Literature.

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An den Quellen der romanischen Sprachen (*Vermischte Beiträge zur romanischen Sprachwissenschaft und Volkskunde*). By Gerhard Rohlfs. Halle (Saale): Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1952. Pp. xi + 286.

This work, published for the occasion of the sixtieth birthday of the eminent Romanist, may be called a Gerhard Rohlfs anthology. It includes twenty selections chosen from the thirty-odd years of scholarly activity of Professor Rohlfs. The selections were made according to two chief criteria: lack of general availability of the original publication, and interest to a larger public. There is some question as to whether these criteria were strictly adhered to: the *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, from which several selections are taken, ought to be quite generally available in most university libraries, and it seems somewhat doubtful whether the influence of the sentence accent on the sound changes in the dialect of Puzzuoli (pages 224 ff.), or the etymology of Corsican *ziglia* (pages 30 ff.) will be of interest to anyone who is not a linguistic specialist.

The selections included fall into definite categories. Articles 1 to 6 deal essentially with the general topic of the first article, namely "Sprachwissenschaft und Volkskunde," a plea for the collaboration of linguistics with the study of popular customs and the life of the people. Topics included are among others a long enumeration of all possible beliefs and superstitions concerning the mythological figure of an old woman (the *vetula*), sexual metaphors, "bread and cheese" as names for the weasel, etc. Articles 7 to 11 cover Professor Rohlfs' ideas on the problem of the *Ausgliederung* of the Romance world, especially Italy, and deal specifically with his ideas on the influence of substrata in Italy, the Gallo-Italian settlements in Southern Italy, and his well-known theory of the pre-Byzantine origin of Southern Italian Greek.

Articles 12, 13 and 14 deal with Italian place and family names, while 15 and 16, the aforementioned study of the influence of the sentence accent on sound change, and an elaborate study of the Basque vocabulary in Gascon, stand more or less isolated. The remainder of the selections deal with etymological problems: the stratification of German loanwords in Romance, etymologies of *encore* (< *hinc hac hora*), *teste* (< *testeso* < *teso teso*), *madrigal* (< *materiale* in the meaning of 'stylistically simple' or 'unpretentious'). The whole work is well indexed (subject matter index, word list, list of proper names, list of geographic names) and contains also the complete and rather impressive bibliography of Professor Rohlfs.

The material included covers tremendous ground and has also been published and discussed before; it seems therefore that a detailed discussion is not essential. Professor Rohlfs has followed the procedure recently adopted by von Wartburg (*Die Ausgliederung der romanischen Sprachräume* [Bern 1950]) and brought previously published material up to date, and included the results of subsequent research. He has not changed his mind on any

major point, and the bringing up to date involves in most cases cross references to Professor Rohlfs' more recent books, especially his *Historische Grammatik der italienischen Sprache* (Vols. I and II, [Bern, 1949]), and *Historische Grammatik der unteritalienischen Gräzität* (Munich, 1950). Only occasionally Professor Rohlfs polemizes against an objection raised to one of his theories, as when (page 248) he discusses Dauzat's objection (advanced in 1942) against his etymology of *encore* (advanced by Rohlfs in 1937).

I wish to make just a few remarks concerning Professor Rohlfs' position toward some of the larger problems concerning the basic question of the origins of the Romance languages. Rohlfs denies any kind of Oscan, Umbrian or Etruscan influence in matters of phonology (pages 65 ff.). Thus, without taking any specific position with regard to the views of von Wartburg, he seems diametrically opposed to practically all of them. He does not consider the possibility of a Germanic superstratum in matters of phonology. Practically all the specifically Northern Italian features (fall of final vowels, syncopation, simplification of geminates, voicing of intervocalic stops, nasalization and the dialectal divide between Northern and Southern Italian) are for him a matter of Celtic substratum (page 76); but at the same time he denies any Celtic influence in the change [u] to [y] which is the one change adopted by von Wartburg as definitely of Celtic origin. Professor Rohlfs connects the aforementioned Celtic phenomena with a heavy respiratory accent which he finds attested in insular Celtic. Yet on pages 61 ff. he himself polemizes at length against any attempts to draw inferences from insular Celtic to the speech of the Celts of Gaul. Generally it may be said that much of recent structural linguistic research tends to confirm the ideas of Professor Rohlfs concerning the non-Celticity of the [u] to [y] change as opposed to the Celticity of the voicing of the intervocalic stops. (See for instance A. G. Juilland and A. G. Haudricourt, *Essai pour une histoire structurale du phonétisme français* [Paris, 1949], Chapter X; A. Martinet, "Celtic Lenition and Western Romance Consonants," *Language* XXVIII [1952], 192–218.) At the same time, however, I would be inclined on the basis of the arguments of von Wartburg and the chronology established by Elise Richter (*Chronologische Phonetik des Französischen bis zum Ende des 8. Jahrhunderts* [Halle, 1934]) to accept at least some of the features mentioned by Rohlfs, like syncopations and fall of final vowels, as of Germanic rather than Celtic origin.

In the important question of Greek influence in Southern Italy Rohlfs argues for Greek influence in morphology and syntax, but not in phonology. In the latter realm he feels that the influence was not from Greek to Latin, but reversed from Romance to Greek. As an example he gives (pages 64–65) the Southern Italian unvoicing (*tente* for *dente*) which also spreads into the Southern Italian Greek dialects. But what should be the reason for the Romance unvoicing? In the *Historische Grammatik der*

unteritalienischen Gräzität (page 76), Rohlfs suggests the possibility of Messapic influence. But it may be suggested here tentatively that this unvoicing was precisely due to the meeting of Greek and Latin in southern Italy and goes back to Greek speakers who, lacking voiced stops in their language interpreted the Latin voiced stops as unvoiced stops or voiced continuants. This development is amply attested throughout southern Italian where forms like *tente* and *ðente* give the typical example for the reflexes of the Latin voiced stops. Generally it may be noted that in the *Historische Grammatik der unteritalienischen Gräzität* Rohlfs is much more ready to accept the idea of Greek phonological influence in Romance (see also von Wartburg's review in *ZRPh*, LXVII [1951], 355–356), especially in the shaping of Southern Italian vocalism. Probably we should accept the 1950 *Grammatik* rather than the 1952 version of the 1930 article as the last pronouncement on the subject.

The wealth of material and the careful indices make this work a valuable aid for consultation concerning many problems of Romance linguistics. It is a worthy monument to a great scholar whose entire endeavors have always been characterized by the meticulous unearthing of an unbelievable amount of factual material. We can only hope that the field of Romance Philology will profit by many more years of Professor Rohlfs' scholarly activity.

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